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THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND,

FROM THE
EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT TIME:

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

WITH
QUESTIONS SUITED FOR CLASSES.

BY
TOWNSEND YOUNG, LL.D.

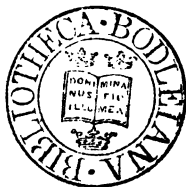
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TO
THE HON. MATTHEW FITZMAURICE DEANE,

In Token

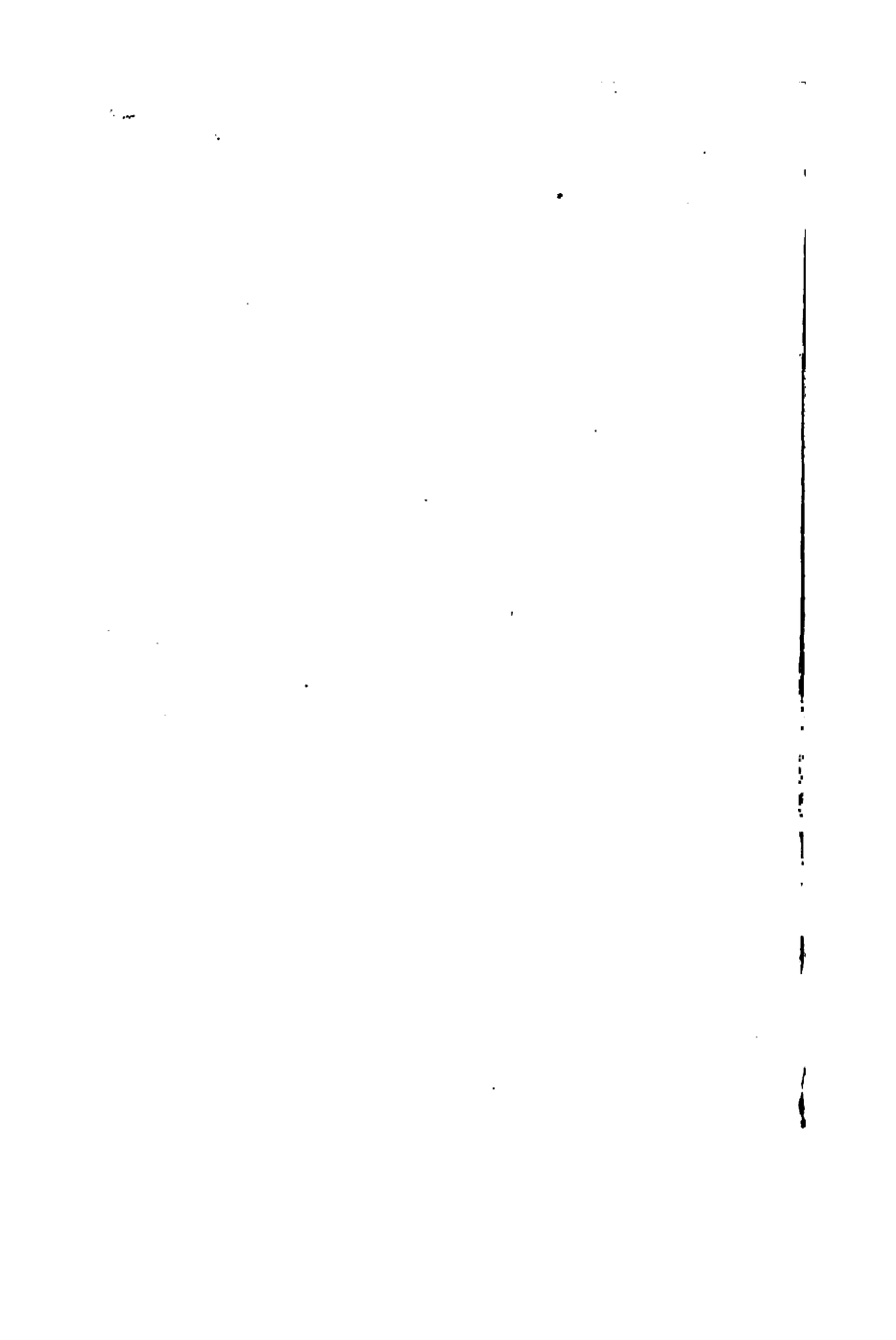
THAT HIS FRIENDSHIP IS CHERISHED,

AND

HIS PRINCIPLES REVERED,

BY

THE AUTHOR.



P R E F A C E .

SOME few years since, the author was engaged to draw up a brief and impartial introduction to the History of Ireland. His performance was published under the title *OUTLINES, &c.*, and met with the cordial approbation of all parties. The reception was such, that he may unhesitatingly confess he felt it creditable to the integrity of his purpose, and the judiciousness with which he executed it. One of the severest of the English reviewers qualified his praise of the *Outlines* no further than by saying—"it is impartial, with a slight Irish leaning;"—in the absence of which leaning, little confidence could be placed in the historian.

That book has been thought too condensed even for schools, where so many historical works enter into the curriculum. It has been made the basis of, and incorporated with, the present one, which has attained its much greater size by the introduction of a greater number of events, or a more ample view of those previously given.

The clearness of style and arrangement has been carefully followed. Above all, the original honest intention and moderate temper have been rigidly preserved. It is the writer's aim to produce an Irish History, "candid and conciliating—honest and inoffensive—fit for youth and age—for the school, the study, and the drawing room—and undefiled by a single trait of religious or political asperity."

That the reader may, with little trouble, be able to form a notion of the pains that have been bestowed on the execution, he may refer to some of the leading passages selected for the pages of *CONTENTS*. Let the censor who may be disposed to conceive them too ambitious for so small a production, reflect how poor and dry the Catilinarian War would be without the *characters* and the *speeches*.

Of all branches of education, which is not absolutely scholastic, there is none more useful or ornamental than history. Without a knowledge of it suitable to our position in society we have really but little of what we are all inclined to affect, that is a polite education. Ignorance of Homer, Euclid, and Rossini, is less reproachful than ignorance of history. There are two consequences of this ignorance which much escape observation : it confines the sphere of our observation to our native county or thereabouts ; and it confounds that familiarity with current events, which is obtained from the newspapers, with general information. To speak plainly, those who neglect the study of history, discard one of the most essential acquisitions of a lady or a gentleman.

But if history should be cultivated, even as a mere accomplishment, we ought not allow that of other countries to supersede our own. With regard to Ireland, its story has till lately attracted little general attention even at home. The History of Ireland, however, though not so showy, is intrinsically as interesting and instructive, as that of any modern nation in Europe. But, hitherto, its external appearance has not been very attractive. Irish histories have been chronicles of petty feuds, of brawls, dignified by the name of battles, and predatory raids narrated as gravely as if they had been campaigns ; compilations from the mythic inventions of the bards, or other romantic exaggerations ; or such discordant mixtures of archæology and hagiology, of private, political, and ecclesiastical affairs, as to make it hard to guess whether history was intended to have been their object at all.

Two or three modern writers are, indeed, for the most part, free from these disagreeable features ; but still they are too diffuse for general readers. The great complaint, however, is that they do not, like Goldsmith in his three celebrated histories, keep the leading events so connected, that their stream can be easily traced from the fountain-head to the embouchure. The reader, it is expected, will not readily lose *the thread of his discourse*, while pursuing the subsequent pages ; from which the Celt may learn something to improve his patriotism, and the Saxon much to enlarge his philanthropy.

March 1, 1863.

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THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.—NAMES AND ANTIQUITY.—EARLY COLONIES.— BARDIC ACCOUNTS, AND PROBABLE COLONIZATION.

THERE are few European nations that have not been known by more than one name. The origin of the names is generally traceable to some real or mythic conqueror or colonist; to the principal feature of the country, or peculiarity of its boundaries; or to some characteristic of the inhabitants themselves.

I. The most ancient name by which the inhabitants of Ireland called their country is, probably, the Woody Isle, a name descriptive of the appearance of the country in remote and even in later times. It is thought to have been known to Himilco, the Carthaginian voyager, about 550 years before Christ, or as some say 1000, by the name of the Sacred Isle. An Athenian poet who flourished 516, B. C., mentions Ireland by its Celtic title, Iernis, in the poem on the Argonautic Expedition. Though Rome can boast of a greater antiquity by two centuries, yet there is no mention of that city in any author as ancient as the Athenian poet.

The Milesian invasion, which, according to some writers, took place 1000 years before our Saviour's birth, gave rise to other names for this Island. Milesius had eight sons, of whom three are remarkable: Heremon, the first king of Ireland; Heber, after whom the country is called Hibernia; and Ir, from whom are derived Ireland and Erin,—the first of late introduction, but the last

two traceable to the second century. It was also called Greater Scotia, the origin of which is referred to the Scythian colonists. Greater Scotia was retained to the tenth century, and served to distinguish it from Scotia (or Scotia Minor), Scotland. The appellation of the Island of Saints was, probably, bestowed on it even in Pagan times, when it had acquired celebrity from its Druidic superstitions; in the early ages of Christianity it enjoyed and merited such a title.

Another name remains for notice,—Inisfail. The Tuatha-de-Danaans, invaders who preceded the Milesians, brought with them into Ireland a stone called *Lia-fail*. It was said to be enchanted, and to send forth a noise like thunder when one of the royal Scythian race was crowned upon it. The Irish monarchs were inaugurated on this stone till its removal to Scotland, in the year of our Lord 513, by Fergus, King Murtough's brother, who had subdued the Scots, and who thought he should secure the succession to his posterity by getting himself crowned on the Stone of Destiny. It remained in Scotland till removed in 1296 by Edward I., who, perhaps, regarded it with superstitious feelings himself, and sought by its removal to impress upon the Scots that the fatal period had arrived for the dissolution of their monarchy. Edward conveyed it to Westminster Abbey, where it is still, placed under the Coronation Chair. The fatality supposed to be connected with it has been enunciated in some Irish and Latin verses, which may be thus translated :—

If Fate's decrees be not pronounced in vain,
Where'er this stone be found the Scots shall reign.

The removal of this stone, so long credited, has been lately questioned by that distinguished Irish antiquary, Dr. Petrie, who has produced passages from writers of the tenth century, in which the *Lia-Fail*, or *Stone of Destiny*, is mentioned as still in Ireland, on the hill of Tara. The pillar-stone yet on the hill is supposed to be this interesting relic, which originated the appellation Inisfail, or *Isle of Destiny*.

II. However improbable in themselves, or irreconcilable with chronology, the accounts of the several colonizations of Ireland may be, as derived from the psalters, or ancient historical books, or the records of the bards or poets, still they are deserving of attention; and as it is acknowledged that those accounts contain much that is true mixed with the fabulous or fanciful, they should not be hastily rejected. From those sources we learn that the island was successively invaded by five colonies, namely, the Nemedians, the Fomorians, the Firbolgs, the Tuatha-de-Danaans, and the Milesians. Of the Fomorians nothing is known with certainty; they are represented as pirates and sorcerers. It is conjectured they were really Carthaginian traders. The Nemedians, Firbolgs, and Danaans were descended from one common stock: Partholan, of the race of Japhet, was their origin. The Milesians were the descendants of Magog, son of Japhet.

Partholan was a Scythian. There is a very accurate, but the more suspicious, account of his having landed in Kerry on Wednesday, the 14th of May, in the year 2035, B. C. His race possessed the country for 300 years, and were swept away by a plague. His great-grand-nephew, Nemedius, founded the Nemedian race, and his grandson, Jobath, the Tuatha-de-Danaans. The Firbolgs descended from the Nemedians. The Nemedians were invaded by the Fomorians, who, after having been worsted in three battles, defeated Nemedius in the fourth. Jobath led the remains of his people into Germany. Their descendants were the Danaans.

The Firbolgs or Belgæ dispossessed the Fomorians, who, according to the doubtful narrators of those transactions, came from Britain, or, according to some, from Gaul. It is not decided whether the Belgæ were a Celtic or Teutonic race. They were led by five brothers, who divided the country among them, and thus gave rise to that subdivision which lasted till the English invasion in the twelfth century.

The Danaans, to whom Danaan, a Nemedian princess, gave her name, were the next invaders. They overthrew

the Firbolgs. In their way from Germany they are said to have passed through Denmark and Norway, whence they brought the Stone of Destiny. This route favours the opinion of a Scandinavian colonization, which gave their first inhabitants to both England and Ireland.

We now come to the Milesian invasion, as recorded by the Fileas, or national historical poets. The Milesians and Gadelians descended from Farsa, King of Scythia, who, as well as Partholan, ancestor of the Danaans, was grandson of Magog. Niall, his son, married Scota, the daughter of that Pharaoh who reigned when the Israelites were delivered out of bondage. The posterity of their son, Gadelas, having multiplied so as to excite the jealous fears of the Egyptians, were conducted back to Scythia by Heber-Scot, great-grandson of Gadelas. Forced from Scythia by persecution, they migrated under one of Heber's lineal descendants. Finally they halted in Spain, conducted by Braotha, whose son, Breogan, founder of the city of Braganza, was grandfather of Milesius.

Milesius visited Scythia, where he found a descendant of Nenual, the eldest son of Farsa, reigning; and then Egypt, where he married Scota, by whom he had eight sons. Of these three, Heber, Heremon, and Ir, are the progenitors of three of the four lines into which the Milesian princes are divided; the fourth takes its name from Ith, son of the founder of Braganza. Having resided seven years in Egypt, Milesius returned to Spain, where his tribe had greatly multiplied. After his death, his people having endured a famine, their chiefs assembled at Braganza, and a new emigration was decided on, to which they were encouraged by the prophecy of one of their Druids, respecting the most western island of Europe. Ith was sent on a voyage of inquiry, and discovered an island, the inhabitants of which called themselves Tuatha-de-Danaans. After a short residence he fell under suspicions of treasonable intentions, and was marked for destruction. He was beset at Moy-Ith in Tyrone, and received a mortal wound. His kindred resolved to avenge his death, and planned and executed,

under the conduct of eight sons of Milesius, that famous invasion which is fixed by some of its believers at 1800, B. C., by others at 800, B. C. As those invaders approached the coasts of Ireland, the island to which allusion has been made, several of the chiefs and their companions perished in a storm. Heber himself landed in Bantry.

III. This account of the Milesian or Nemedian colony is full of improbability, which is greatly increased by historical investigation. The Milesian invasion is admitted to have followed that of the Firbolgs or Belgæ, and the Danaans. The arrival of the Belgæ, whether they came from Britain or Gaul, could hardly have been earlier than the third century of our era. The omission of the Scythians or Scoti from Ptolemy's map, shows that not only was the tribe unknown to the Tyrians, by whom the map was chiefly drawn up, but to Ptolemy himself, who lived in the second century. The veracity of the bardic account is again impaired by the fact that no writer mentions Ireland by the name of Scotia till about the close of the third century. Indeed the term Scot in the fifth century included only a portion of the Irish people, as we learn from the Confessions of St. Patrick. It is then reasonable to conclude, with Dr. Lanigan, that as the name Scotia had not yet extended to the whole island, the Scotie invasion must have been a comparatively recent event, which he assigns to the fifth century of the Christian era.

Now as to the authorities upon which the Nemedian account depends. Its currency is owing to the industry and credulity of Keating, who flourished in Elizabeth's time, and who, as the Abbé Macgeoghegan confesses, "followed too closely the fictions of the ancient bards." Keating drew a great part of his history from the Psalter of Cashel, annals compiled by Cormac M'Cullinan, king and bishop of Cashel, about the beginning of the tenth century. It was in this psalter that the romance first sketched by the bards, and adopted, perhaps, with some improvement, by the annalists, assumed that systematic form in which we have seen it in the preceding abstract. There is no trace of the fable to be found in any Irish

writers previous to the ninth century. But the trustworthiness of the bardic relations is almost conclusively determined by Tighernach (pronounced *Tierna*), the most faithful of our ancient annalists, who died A. D. 1088. He declares that "all the records of the Scots, up to Kimbaoth, are uncertain,"—a monarch who flourished, it is said, 300 years before the Nativity. Conary the Great reigned in the commencement of our first century. In whatever way, therefore, the Milesian dynasties are to be treated,—to whatever era we may assign Heremon, or Ollamh Fodhla, or Kimbaoth,—it is manifest that we must relinquish the Milesian tale, as told by Keating and the bards, and have recourse to a more probable way of accounting for the early colonization of Ireland.

In order to avoid the intricacy which attends this subject, it must be kept apart from minute particulars, and confined to those opinions which are generally received and appear most consistent.

Sir William Betham maintains that Great Britain and Ireland were originally peopled from the North; that the next settlers or invaders were the Phœnicians; and after them the Milesians or Phœnician-Celts from Spain.

Mr. Moore's opinion is not very different, though not so clearly expressed. He supposes the Celts, whom he regards as the most ancient inhabitants of all the western and southern countries of Europe, to have been the aborigines of the British isles. The Irish Celts he derives from Spain; and with these, as well as with the Spanish Celts, he shows the Phœnicians to have had a very early direct intercourse. The primitive Celts were invaded by the Belgæ or Firbolgs, either directly from Gaul or from Britain, where they had settled at an early period. If the Belgæ were, as is probable, of Gothic or Northern descent, the views of these writers would here begin to concur, and from hence run nearly parallel to the end; but the Belgæ are thought by some to have been a Celtic people. Moore also conjectures that the pressure of the Belgæ, or primitive Celts of Britain, forced a considerable emigration of them into Ireland,

among a kindred race, a circumstance not at all unlikely. The colonists next in order are the Danaans; but whether they were the Damnii of North Britain, or the Dannonians of Cornwall, has not been decided on; but of their settlement and that of the Belgæ there can be no reasonable doubt. The last and most celebrated colonization, as well as, perhaps, the first, proceeded from the western coasts of Spain. The Phœnicians had early intercourse with Ireland, and with the Spanish coasts, with which Ireland also was acquainted. The Phœnicians and western Spaniards had become a mixed race, and of this race of Spanish or Celto-Phœnicians was composed that people which, under the conduct of Heber and Heremon, sons of Milesius, conquered this island, and dispossessed our more ancient Celto-Belgic forefathers.

SECT. II.—PAGAN WORSHIP AND REMAINS.

THE most ancient superstitions of which we have any record are those into which the Canaanites had early fallen. Their idolatry is traceable in the Irish monuments and traditions,—in the sacred groves and wells,—in our stone circles and their central altars or judgment-seats,—in the unhewn pillars, and other similar remains. All these are connected with the first rude worship derived from the East by our Celtic progenitors. The Phœnicians introduced various idolatrous rites. These people established the Cabiric mysteries in Samothrace, an island in the *Ægean* Sea; and Strabo, the geographer, informs us of an island near Britain, where sacrifices were offered to Ceres and Proserpine. We learn from Pliny that a strong resemblance subsisted between the mysteries of the Druids and those of the Persians.

The Paganism of ancient Ireland was, without a doubt, a mixture of rites derived from various sources. It is known under the general term Druidism. The priests were called Druids or Magi. The former name is usually derived from *drus*, the Greek name of the oak, the sa-

cred tree of the druidic worship. Those who derive it from the Irish *draíod* (pr. *dhree*), a wise man or magician, may be right, but they have no conclusive reason for rejecting the Greek derivation: between both there is no incompatibility.

The sun, under the name of Baal, or Bel, was the chief deity of the Irish as well as of the Phœnicians. His worship prevailed, probably, to the time of St. Patrick. The names of many places still bear evidence of this ancient superstition.

Fire was also worshipped here; the festival of Lha Baaltinne (pr. *law-bawl-tin-ne*), or the day of the Baal fire, was celebrated on the 1st of May. All the fires throughout the island were then put out, and forbidden to be rekindled till the fire on the hill of Tara was lighted. A similar ceremony took place on the first day of November. One of the rites was to cause domesticated beasts to pass between two fires, as a charm against all the casualties and the contagious distempers of the year.

Wherever Baal was adored, human sacrifices were offered. The feast of *Samhain*,* or heaven, was celebrated on the first day of autumn, in the "field of slaughter," in the county of Leitrim. On this occasion, the worshippers sacrificed the first-born of every creature to the idol Crom-cruach, which was made of stone, capped with gold, and surmounted by twelve smaller stones, intended to represent the signs of the zodiac. The prostrations before this image were continued till the blood came from several parts of the body, and sometimes even till death ensued.

Water was also an object of adoration. The Pagan Irish had their holy wells, and tied their shreds of cloth on the branches of the overhanging tree or shrub, either as votive offerings to the presiding genius, or as memorials of their devotional visit.

Of the monuments of the ancient druidic worship, the

* S and h are absolutely exchangeable letters; thus *samhain*, *hamyain*, *havain*, heaven. See Dr. Valpy—*haina*.

cromleach is the most remarkable. It is a large, unhewn stone, flat and oblong, and resting horizontally on two or more supporters, which are generally of unequal length, so as to give the cromleach a slope. It is seldom raised more than three feet above the ground. One, between Glanworth and Fermoy, forms beneath it a chamber twenty-five feet long and six feet wide; it is called the Hag's-bed. Proceeding from beneath it are eight ridges, resembling graves, where, as the country folk say, are buried eight giants, the father with his seven sons. The cromleachs were not only places of sacrifice, but of sepulture; portions of human skeletons have been found under most of those which have been excavated.

The antiquarian lore of the peasant ascribes them all to the labours of the giants with whom they people the olden time.

The *cairns* are heaps of stones, mostly of conical shape, and are supposed to be rude monuments placed over the dead. Even still the spots where the bodies of murdered persons are found are often marked by such collections. Every passenger helps to commemorate the atrocity by laying a stone, and thus the pile is raised. At Cairn-bane, in Armagh, is a cairn 180 yards round the base, and ten yards in height. Bones and urns have been discovered under some of those heaps.

Those earthen mounds called *barrows* were likewise places of burial. Among almost all nations the grave has been regarded as a consecrated spot, and especially among the ancient Romans and the Irish. With us tradition preserves the sentiments of awe and veneration for the mound or tumulus, even when its use has been long forgotten. The barrow is yet regarded by the peasant with solemn feelings, though, for the most part, he mistakes it for a Danish fort or muniment.

Though the barrows and cairns were originally destined as places of burial, they have been also used for other solemnities. On them the king was inaugurated and presented with the Wand of Power, and the priest offered his sacrifice; from them the judge pronounced

his sentence, and the lawgiver promulgated his decrees. The hill of Uisneach, in Westmeath, upon whose summit met the original five provinces into which Ireland had been divided, was renowned for the national convention frequently held on it, and the solemn meetings of the Druids there.

Pillar-stones, sometimes solitary, and sometimes arranged in a circle, are to be seen in many places. They were employed on religious and political occasions. They served as temples of worship, or as places for the assembling of national councils and the holding of judicial courts. The remains of a circular temple near Dundalk bear some resemblance to Stonehenge in England.

In the religious system of the Druids, rocking stones, and certain groves and trees, especially the oak, were held sacred.

As to the Round Towers, Dr. Petrie, in his learned and candid work on them, has left, in the minds of the great majority of his readers, no doubt of their Christian origin.

His opinion is, that they were intended as a safe depository for the sacred utensils, books, and other valuable property belonging to the churches to which they were attached. Their more general, and, perhaps, only correct name in the Irish language, is *Cloig-theach*, which signifies a steeple or belfry. Many think it absurd to suppose them fit for belfries, by reason of their narrowness, and the smallness of the apertures for the escape of the sound, but their dimensions are really greatly beyond what the diminutive bells of the times required. The towers are cylindrical structures, from fifty to one hundred and forty feet high, tapering upwards, and from forty to sixty feet in circumference at the base. The base, usually projecting, consists of one, two, or three steps: the apex, in those which are perfect, is covered in with a conical roof of stone. The wall, at the base, is generally more than three feet thick, never less. The interior is divided into from four to eight stories, in height about twelve feet each.

CHAPTER I.

DAWN OF AUTHENTIC HISTORY.—FROM HEREMON TO DATHY.

WE have already seen that the sons of Milesius vanquished the Tuatha-de-Danaans, and seized on the sovereignty of the island, which they divided, giving Ulster and Connaught to Heremon, Leinster and Munster to Heber. Amergin, a third brother, presided, in quality of arch-bard, over poetry and philosophy, law and religion. Heber lost his life in a battle with Heremon, occasioned by a dispute concerning the possession of a fine valley. In another fray with his victorious brother, Amergin fell. Heremon thus came in for all, and was succeeded by his three sons, who reigned conjointly. Irial, surnamed the Prophet, next ascended the throne. He promoted agriculture, and introduced many useful improvements. He wrote a history of the Gadelians, which was finished by his son and successor, Eithriel. The latter was deposed by a grandson of Heber, whose military genius shone forth in five-and-twenty victories. In the reign of Tigherna which ensued, idolatry is said to have been introduced. He set up the idol Crom-cruach, and was, with a vast multitude, miraculously destroyed while worshipping it. The number of colours allowed to be worn in their raiment by the different classes in society was regulated in the next reign: one was permitted to soldiers, two or three to their commanders, six to the literati and lawyers, and seven to royalty. In this regulation we may, perhaps, discern the origin of the plaids which distinguish the Scottish clans.

Ollamh Fodhla was the eighteenth monarch from Heremon. He appointed the assembly of the three estates of the realm every three years on Tara or Teamor, which afterwards became the usual residence of the monarchs. Our great poet refers to Tara in words which adorn our

history, and whose repetition here is by no means inappropriate:—

“The harp that once through Tara’s halls
The soul of music shed,
Now hangs as mute on Tara’s walls
As if that soul were fled.
So sleeps the pride of former days,
So glory’s thrill is o’er,
And hearts that once beat high for praise,
Now feel that pulse no more.”

The Nobility, the Druids, and the People assembled in October. Fodhla suggested many excellent laws for the security of person and property, the distribution of justice, and the recording of historical events. It was decreed that every lord or head of clan or sept should maintain, at his own expense, a brehon or judge, a senachie or historian, and a bard, who combined the musician and the poet. The historian presented the annals of his patron to the general assembly at Tara for examination. Those annals, after undergoing the severest scrutiny, were transcribed into the general records of the kingdom, called the Psalter of Tara. The scrutiny of family annals, and the adopting of them into the national archives, continued until the twelfth century of our era. Upon the abolition of Paganism the Druids were replaced by Christian bishops as examiners. Of the original Psalter several copies had been deposited in cathedral churches; some of which copies still exist.

Fodhla restricted sons to the trade of their fathers, as did the Egyptians and the Lacedemonians, and as the Chinese and Brahmins still do. This restriction could have been no great inconvenience in the simple state of society which existed in the time of our Irish Solon. He assigned lands for the support of the hereditary heralds, musicians, bards, and doctors. He also founded and endowed the “College of the Learned,” at Tara.

Kimbaoth was the thirty-fourth monarch after this celebrated legislator, according to the questionable genealogies of the bards. With this prince begins the dawn

of authentic history, as our excellent annalist Tighernach acknowledges. Kimbath built for himself the palace of Emania, near Armagh; in its neighbourhood was the mansion of the famous "Knights of the Red Branch."

Two kings intervened between Kimbath and Hugony the Great, who procured from the assembly at Tara the abolition of the pentarchy, and substituted instead five-and-twenty petty kingdoms or lordships. This form of government continued till the commencement of our era, when the provincial sovereignties were again restored by Achy. From Hugony's time to that period, twenty-eight monarchs reigned, not one of whom merits our notice.

The reign of Conary the Great is memorable for the death of the young hero, Cuchullin, which took place, according to our chroniclers, in the second year of our Lord. In the seven years' war between Connaught and Ulster, caused by the seizure of a number of cattle by Maude, queen of the former province, the exploits of Cuchullin and the Knights of the Red Branch are celebrated by the bards and chroniclers. The romances of those inventive historians respecting the war became the foundation of the forgeries known as Macpherson's "Poems of Ossian."

Few literary productions ever excited more controversy than those rhapsodies, which were published by Macpherson as translations from Irish originals. His imposture has been fully exposed by Dr. Drummond, in an essay in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, A. D. 1830. The essayist not only exposes the forgeries, but justly impeaches their literary pretensions. In them we find a few noble images, some touches of the pathetic, some interesting incidents and dramatic painting; but the same metaphors perpetually recur; the style, though occasionally vigorous, is abrupt, trivial, and affected; while no great action dignifies the hero, or supports the reader's attention. Dr. Blair, indeed, zealous for the glory of his country, extolled her supposed bard as another Homer. Macpherson's imposture is apparent from a remarkable anachronism; he makes Cu-

chullin, and the hero and bard Oisin, contemporaries; whereas the latter flourished about the middle of the third century, and the former died in the second year of the first. Other inconsistencies, also, betray the literary fraud.

In the reign of Crimthan, the Roman general Agricola was employed in the subjugation of Britain. At this period commerce had rendered the shores and harbours of Ireland better known than those of England. The intestine troubles of the Irish people reached the general, and tempted his ambition. Tacitus informs us that, under the pretence of friendship, he detained for his purposes one of the petty princes, who had been driven into exile by faction at home. This recreant prince used every effort to induce Agricola to invade his native country, assuring him that a single legion, aided by a few native auxiliaries, would be sufficient for the conquest of the island.

But the Romans never set foot in Ireland; and Crimthan, so far from fearing them, led an expedition into Scotland, to aid his allies, the Picts, against them, and returned laden with rich booty. The Annals of the Four Masters enumerate among the spoils a suit of armour with embossed gold and gems, and a military cloak fringed with gold. Crimthan has the honour of being associated with Agricola, in the immortal page of Tacitus. He died of a fall from his horse, A. D. 56.

The oppressive ascendancy of the Milesians produced a civil war, about A. D. 82. The descendants of the soldiers, mechanics, and labourers, who had formed part of the invasion conducted by Heremon and Heber, were held in vassalage. The remains of the Danaans and the Belgæ were kept down by the sword. The Celtic population were excluded from every participation in the government. Vile distinctions were instituted between the rulers and the ruled. The social degradation which the dominant race of the Milesians extended to the great body of the people produced a general resistance. The plebeians confederated, and chose one Carbre for their

leader. Carbre had the dexterity to assemble the nobles and princes, with their monarch Fiacha, at a banquet, which, after a carousal of nine days, ended in the massacre of the guests. A servile war ensued, which spread over the whole island, and was consummated by the placing of the rebel leader on the throne. The regicide reigned five years. His son Moran abdicated in favour of the legitimate heir, Feredach. Moran's loyalty was rewarded by the post of chief judge, which he worthily filled.

The reign of Feredach's son was disturbed by a still more formidable revolt of the plebeians or Attacots, at whose head Elim, king of Ulster, put himself. Tuathal, the monarch, fled for protection to his maternal grandfather, the king of the Picts, in North Britain. His rebellious subjects, having found themselves no better by the change of master, grown weary, perhaps, of their own excesses, and pinched with famine, repented, and sent a deputation to invite him back. Tuathal complied, landed with a body of Picts, and proceeded to Tara, where the assembled nobles restored him to the sovereignty. He soon after reduced the remaining rebels to obedience. Deservedly beloved by his subjects, he received from them the surname of the Acceptable. With a view of preserving the country from the evils of usurpation, he obtained an oath of allegiance from every individual of the national assembly. He also procured an increase of the domains of the crown by a grant of land from each of the other provinces; and the county of Meath, thus enlarged, became a more suitable support for the royal dignity. But peace, either public or domestic, is rarely the lot of kings. One of his daughters was married to Achy, king of Leinster. This prince shut up his wife, put on mourning, repaired to Tara, and obtained from the monarch his other daughter as wife. This young princess, upon her arrival in Leinster, finding that her sister still lived, died of the shock. The injured queen was plunged into incurable grief upon discovering the cause of her sister's death. To avenge his children's

wrongs, their royal father marched an army into Leinster. Achy warded off the blow by engaging to pay him and his successors a biennial tribute of 3000 copper cauldrons, and the same number of ounces of silver, and of heads of cattle likewise. This tribute, which was the source of much future bloodshed, continued to be levied for five centuries.

In the reign of Feidlim (A. D. 164), surnamed the Lawgiver, the punishment by *eric* or fine was substituted for the *lex talionis*. Whatever be the defects of the former code, it prevailed in England till the time of Alfred, and was preferable to the sanguinary legislation which rendered a petty theft equally punishable with murder.

Conn, the son of Feidlim, fought so many battles, that he was called Conn of the Hundred Battles. His principal antagonist was Eugene, king of Munster. After a great defeat, Eugene fled to Spain, where he married the daughter of the king of Castile, by whom he was furnished with troops for the recovery of his patrimony. He returned to Ireland, fought a decisive battle at the Devil's Bit, in the county of Tipperary, and forced Conn to assent to a division of the island. This settlement, however, did not establish a permanent peace; the rivals were soon embroiled anew; but Conn finally became undisputed master by the assassination of Eugene.

The reign of Eugene is remarkable for a famine which wasted the land. The policy of this prince, as described by Abbé Macgeoghegan, is characterized by a strange coincidence with passing events (1847). The following passage we quote as a curiosity, not as an argument:—

“Eugene appointed stewards and *economists* to prevent too great a consumption of grain. He availed himself of the opportunity (of the calamity) to make the other provinces tributary to him. *He sold his grain at an advanced price, and, instead of ready money, he required of the purchasers an annual tribute for assisting them in their wants.*”*

* O'Kelly's translation of Macgeoghegan's Ireland.

Eugene left his son, Oilioll Ollum, from whom the nobility of Munster proceeded. This prince married a daughter of Conn. He divided his kingdom among his sons. To Eogan fell South Munster; this was called the kingdom of Desmond, and its people Eugenians; it comprehended Waterford, Cork, and Kerry. North Munster, or the kingdom of Thomond, including Limerick, Clare, and part of Tipperary, was given to Cormac Cas; its inhabitants were called Dalcassians or Dalgais. It was arranged that these two lines should alternately give a king to the whole province.

From Conn descended the race of Dalriadic kings, which supplied Albany, Albain, or Scotland, with its Scottish rulers. One of Conn's daughters was married to Conary II. Her son, Carbury Riada, founded an Irish settlement in Argyleshire, about the middle of the third century. This settlement grew into the kingdom of Dalriada, and, after the destruction of the Picts by Kenneth M'Alpine, became the kingdom of Scotland. The territory in the north of Ireland bore the same name. Venerable Bede tells us he established his settlement partly by friendly alliance, partly by the sword. It is a historical fact, now little disputed, that the kingdom of Scotland was founded by a colony from Ireland. The fact is admitted by the most learned among the Scottish writers, among whom Innis, Pinkerton, and Chalmers are conspicuous. Pinkerton declares, that "the point stands clear," and that Bede's testimony as to Riada's leading the first colony of the Scots or Irish into North Britain is of superior authority to the united evidence of all the Irish annalists. The descent of the Scottish kings from Conary is further testified by a Gaelic duad or poem, written by a court bard of Malcolm III., which has been pronounced to be the most ancient piece of Dalriadic history.

Cormac Ulfida, a grandson of Conn of the Hundred Battles, was one of the most accomplished of all the Milesian princes. He flourished about the middle of the third century. He founded three colleges at Tara; one

for war, another for history, and the third for law. He was a zealous reformer of abuses, and commenced with the literati. By his order a revision of the national records collected in the Psalter of Tara was made. The loss of an eye, incurred in battle, imposed on him the necessity of abdicating, as, by an ancient law, any personal defect or blemish disqualified a prince for the sovereignty. A similar disqualification existed in Persia.

In the reign of Concovar (A. D. 40) three distinguished poets drew up a digest of the ancient laws, which received the appellation of the "Celestial Judgments." This code was augmented and improved in Cormac's time. His son-in-law, the famous Fingal, or Finn-mac-Cumhal, general of the ancient militia called Fianna Erin, took an active part in the work.

Carbre II., his son, succeeded Cormac. The national militia was divided into two rival parties, one headed by Oisín, son of Finn, the other by the king of Munster; the cause of the dispute was the right to military precedence. One of the factions bade defiance to the throne itself; but Carbre, supported by all the royal troops, except those of Munster, overthrew it with great slaughter, in a battle in which Oscar, son of Oisín, was slain by Carbre, who fell himself shortly after. Some of Macpherson's forgeries were based upon old songs having this battle for subject.

Five reigns intervened between Cormac's and Murdock's, without any event worthy of the historian's notice. Murdock dethroned a northern usurper, and reduced the palace of Emania to ruins; exploits which, when narrated with tedious detail and pompous words, are sometimes presented to the public as history.

In the beginning of the fourth century, Niall of the Nine Hostages ascended the throne. He was so called from five provinces in Ireland, and four in Scotland, which he compelled to deliver him hostages. He invaded Britain; Stilicho, the Roman commander who opposed him, is celebrated by the poet Claudian. Niall ravaged the maritime districts of north-west Gaul.

Among his captives was a youth of sixteen, whom he brought home as a slave, and who afterwards became illustrious as the apostle of Christianity to the Irish ; this young slave was St. Patrick. Niall was assassinated by one of his own followers near Boulogne, and succeeded by Dathy, the last of the Pagan kings,—a brave, adventurous commander, who invaded Gaul, and forced his way to the foot of the Alps, where he perished by lightning. Niall bequeathed his hereditary possessions to his eight sons. His will was so rigidly observed that, with a single exception, the monarchs of Ireland were chosen from the Hy-Niall race for 500 years. His descendants were divided into four great clans, which, under the distinctive appellations of North and South Hy-Nialls, never ceased to distract the monarchy with their rival ambition and counter-claims, till it fell a prey to the bold and aspiring kings of Munster.

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.—FROM LOGAIRE TO DERMOD, GRANDSON OF NIALL.—(A. D. 428 TO 722.)

LOGAIRE succeeded his cousin Dathy, A. D. 428 ; he was the first Christian prince ; and his reign, therefore, leads us to speak of the introduction of Christianity into Ireland.

From a passage in Tertullian it would appear that the Christian religion had been introduced into Ireland in the very beginning of the third century, and there is reason to suppose that the Gospel had been preached there still earlier. Palladius, however, was the first bishop of whom we have authentic account. He was sent hither by Pope Celestine. The Pelagian heresy had been propagated before his arrival. Pelagius, according to the best authorities, was an Irishman, and was seconded by his accomplished countryman, Celestius. Sts. Jerome

and Augustine gave him strenuous opposition. The former attacked him with an acrimony no way creditable to his cause or his character; but the latter, notwithstanding his hostility to the religious views of Pelagius, bore willing and generous testimony to his learning, piety, and sincerity. Celestius addressed letters to his parents in Ireland, A. D. 369; a fact which proves that the art of writing had been known in Ireland previously. St. Jerome's abusive attacks on Pelagius indicate that the heresy of the latter had infected many of his countrymen. Britain did not escape the contagion. To repress it there St. German was sent on a mission in 429; he was accompanied by St. Patrick. Palladius was not very successful in Ireland. Flying therefrom, he was wrecked on the coast of North Britain, where he perished.

St. Patrick was born, A. D. 387, in that part of Armorica Gaul known in our times as Boulogne. Having become the captive of Niall of the Nine Hostages, he was carried into Gaul. In the monastery of St. Martin, near Tours, he embraced the sacerdotal state. Having been informed of the fate of Palladius, and being now bishop, he proceeded to Ireland, where he arrived in the first year of the pontificate of Sixtus III. He decided on making his appearance at Tara during the assembly of the states general. On his way thither he baptized the noble youth Benignus, who afterwards succeeded him in the see of Armagh. When he arrived at Slane it was the eve of Easter, and of Lha Baaltinne. The Saint lighted his paschal fire. It was noticed by Logaire and the Druids, who were exasperated at the impiety. Patrick was brought before the monarch, and spoke with such effect as to convert the king himself and the arch-pope. He subsequently made his appearance at the Taltine games, and wrought many conversions. He destroyed the idol Crom-cruach, and put an end to its worship. His labours extended to the western parts of the kingdom, where, as he informs us in his "Confessions," no missionaries had previously penetrated,—a declaration im-

plying that in other parts Christianity had been preached before his time. Having visited all the provinces, and converted the great body of the nation, he founded the see of Armagh, and passed the remainder of his days between it and his favourite retreat at Sabhul, in the barony of Lecale. He died, aged 78, March 17, 465. The contemporary fathers of the Irish Church were Ailbe, Declan, Ibar, and Secundinus, the first bishop who died in Ireland.

Logaire, if he had ever become a Christian, of which there are doubts, relapsed into Paganism before his death. He was succeeded by Olill, son of Dathy, who was slain in battle. His death made way for the dynasty of the Hy-Nialls. This powerful family enabled the Dalriadan princes (503) to recruit their colony in Scotland. In the beginning this included only the Western Isles and Argyleshire; but the Picts having been vanquished by Kenneth, the Scots of Ireland become masters of the country, and founded that kingdom which subsequently gave so much uneasiness to England, and that race of princes which ended with the Stuarts.

The reign of Murtagh is remarkable only for the birth (521) of Columbkille,—a name signifying the Dove of the Churches. Columba was descended from Niall of the Hostages, and derived his name, Columba, the Latin for *dove*, from the gentleness of his character. The preaching of Patrick had been followed by the institution of several ecclesiastical seminaries. In one of these, at Clonard, Columba finished his studies. Having founded two monasteries in his native island, he directed his attention to his countrymen in North Britain, who were still mostly Pagan. Having obtained a grant of the small isle of Iona or Hy, from his kinsman, the king of the Albanian Scots, he proceeded thither in 563, with twelve disciples, and erected a monastery and a church. The conversion of the Picts was his next undertaking. He won over their king, and propagated the Gospel through the northern parts of his kingdom: subsequently the Western Isles became the scenes of his most active labours.

While in North Britain, it is conjectured he laid the foundation of that intercourse which subsisted between the Irish and the Anglo-Saxon Christians, and which is so warmly commended by Bede. After a life of piety and active benevolence, St. Columba died in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

The next prince who has a claim to our notice is Dermot, great-grandson of Niall. In this reign St. Kieran founded the monastery of Clonmacnois, famous for its nine churches. The last assembly of the nation was held at Tara: a criminal had fled to the abbey of St. Ruan, as a sanctuary, and was dragged from thence and executed at Tara; the enraged abbot went in procession to the palace and cursed it; and no king sat in Tara from that day forth. The malediction was commemorated by the name afterwards bestowed on the monastery,—“The Monastery of the Curses of Ireland.”

St. Columbanus, or Columba, who is often confounded with Columbkille, was born in 559, forty years after the latter. He studied in Bangor, county Down and founded the monasteries of Leuxeuil and Fontaines in France, and of Bobbio, in a sequestered part of the Apennines, where he died, A. D. 615. The character of this churchman was marked by a noble independence, fully displayed in his bold letter to Pope Boniface, in which he addressed the pontiff with little ceremony, and reproached his predecessor, Vigilius, with great bitterness. His coffin, chalice, and staff, are preserved at Bobbio. The town of San Columbano, in Lodi, commemorates him in its name.

A dispute, of which the first documentary notice occurs in a letter of Lawrence, successor of Austin, to the Irish bishops, written in 609, arose between Rome and the Irish Church, concerning the time of celebrating the Easter festival. The subject is of little importance, but the noise it made forces it upon our attention. When St. Patrick entered upon his mission in Ireland, he computed Easter after the method then practised in Rome. From this method the Alexandrian differed; but the dif-

ference was adjusted by adopting the Cycle of Dionysius, about the middle of the sixth century,—an arrangement which had not found way into Britain or Ireland. From the original Roman system the Irish Church differed only in one particular,—they admitted the fourteenth day of the month as fit for the celebration of the festival, if Easter day fell on Sunday the fourteenth; but at Rome the fourteenth day was an abomination, as being the day of the Jewish Pasch, and also that adopted by the Quadrodeciman heretics. The Roman missionaries in Britain insisted on uniformity. Columbanus defended the Irish usage, to which most of the clergy obstinately adhered. Pope Honorius, in 630, wrote an epistle to them, dissuading them from celebrating Easter contrary to the decrees of all the bishops upon earth. A synod was held, which decided that the festival should be celebrated conformably to the usage of the universal Church. The decree was evaded, but the elders of the clergy sent a deputation to Rome. This deputation returned with their report about the year 633. The report, after some resistance by the northern clergy,—those zealous admirers of Columbanus,—ultimately brought the dispute to a settlement. In this contest, Cummin, who stood on the Roman side, distinguished himself for his learning, firmness, and moderation.

For many years subsequent to the mission of St. Patrick, our history presents no matter of importance, except what relates to the Church and her missionaries. From the year 600 to the first incursions of the Danes, no political or civil transaction deserving our attention occurred. The only characters who relieve this long period are ecclesiastics, of whom many, remarkable for their learning and pious zeal, flourished. We shall notice the most distinguished of them. Aidan, a monk of Hy, was recommended by the heads of the Irish Church to the Anglo-Saxon king, Oswald, for the work of the Gospel in his dominions. He received from the king the island of Lindisfarne, since called Holy Isle, for the site of his see. The bishop spoke Saxon imperfectly,

but the devout and zealous monarch acted as his interpreter. From this time, says Bede, the Scots of Ireland poured daily into Britain to preach the truths of the Gospel.

Gallus, a disciple of Columbanus, founded the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland. Another, called Deicola, enjoyed the friendship of King Clothaire II., and founded, under his patronage, the establishment at Luthra. The hermitage of St. Fiacre was so long celebrated, that Anne of Austria went thither on a pilgrimage in 1641. Fursa built a monastery at Lagny, on the river Marne in France, and his brothers another in Brabant. Fridolin's missionary travels are still gratefully remembered in Germany, Switzerland, and Lorraine. Coleman, bishop of Lindisfarne, is celebrated for his controversy with Wilfrid, a Saxon priest, which took place at Whitley, before the Anglo-Saxon kings, Oswen and Alchfrid. The subject of debate was the Easter festival. The assembly decided in favour of the Roman practice, but Coleman adhered to the tradition of the Irish Church, resigned his see, and returned to Ireland.

Adamnan, abbot of Hy, was descended from the northern Nialls, from whom sprung the successive abbots of two centuries, with but few exceptions. He used all his influence in favour of the Paschal system of Rome, but was unable to make any impression on the members of his own order. He wrote the Life of St. Columba, a work universally admitted as the finest specimen of biography, not only of his own time, but of all the middle ages.

Cataldus became the patron saint of Tarentum. He was connected with the renowned school of Lismore, founded A. D. 663.

Virgilius, the friend of Pepin, father of Charlemagne, appeared as a missionary in 746. Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, denounced him to the Pope for holding the existence of antipodes. This was, perhaps, misunderstood as a belief in another world and race of men, not included within the redemption. It was natural enough,

in those times, to apprehend dangers from this doctrine; but Virgil explained himself, became bishop of Salzburgh, and was canonized in 1233. His earnest exertions justly entitled him to be regarded as the apostle of the Carinthians.

Clement and Albinus went to France as adventurers, and attracted the notice of Charlemagne by crying out in the highway, "Knowledge to sell! knowledge to sell!" Clement was set over an establishment which the emperor had just founded in France, and Albinus was sent to preside over another in Pavia.

Dungal was eminent in astronomy, and greatly honoured by Charlemagne. Lothaire appointed him president of the school of Pavia, to which all his other scholastic foundations in Italy were subordinate. Dungal bequeathed his books to Bobbio; the greater part of them are now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

The catalogue of eminent Irish scholars pierces its way into the ninth century. The abbot Sedulius, author of Commentaries on St. Paul, was invested by the Pope with the bishopric of Oretto in Spain; and Donatus with that of Fesiole in Italy. John Scot Erigena, a layman, removed to France about the year 845, where he became the companion of Charles the Bald, at whose command he translated the works of Dionysius the Areopagite from the Greek. It is to this translation is attributed the introduction of the mystic doctrines of Alexandria into the theology of the West.

The scholastic theology likewise owed its origin to Irishmen of the eighth century, as Mosheim confesses in a passage too honourable to our country to be omitted, and also too closely connected with the subject of the last few pages:—

"That the Hibernians, who were called Scots in this century (the eighth), were lovers of learning, and *distinguished themselves in those times of ignorance by the culture of the sciences beyond all the other European nations*, travelling through the most distant lands, to improve and communicate their knowledge, is a fact with

which I have been long acquainted; but that those Hibernians were the first teachers of the scholastic theology in Europe, and, so early as the eighth century, illustrated the doctrines of religion by the principles of philosophy, I learned but lately from the testimony of Benedict, abbot of Armaine."—*Mosheim*, Cent. viii., part ii., chap. 3.

Erigena entered into many controversies, in the course of which he put forward sundry original opinions of a dangerous character, and revived, in one shape or another, the heresies of Pelagius, Origen, and others. Actuated by a spirit of opposition, he attacked whatever was received as orthodoxy; infected with visionary notions, he sought to substitute them for the most clearly developed doctrines of religion; and being deficient, notwithstanding his simplicity of life and morals, in that reverential awe with which the Deity should ever be contemplated, he discussed the nature of the Godhead and other holy mysteries, with impious boldness and familiarity. He was a man of wit, imagination, and extensive reading. His intellectual endowments and social qualities exquisitely harmonized, for these were frank, festive, and refined. His genius was versatile, and his mind penetrating, but it was restless, indocile, and paradoxical. He died about the year 875.



CHAPTER III.

DANISH INVASIONS.—FROM FERGALL, A. D. 722, TO CONGELACH, A. D. 944.

THE monarch Fergall revived (A. D. 722) the claim of the Leinster tribute, which nearly fifty years before had been renounced by Finnactha "for himself and his successors for ever." He invaded Leinster with 21,000 men. The Lagenians opposed him at Almhain, with 9000,

and were victorious. Of the two armies 7000 men are said to have fallen, among whom were reckoned 200 kings, including Fergall.

In the reign of Aedan (A. D. 795) the Northmen or Danes made their first serious incursions, and frequently repeated their visits and depredations. In the Irish annals these intruders are called Galls or strangers, Gentiles, Dwellers on the Lakes, and Pirates, but are never mentioned by the name of Danes. On their way to Ireland they set fire to the monastery of Icolumbkill. Those spoilers spent their rage on every spot held in reverence by the people. The unholy adventurers were bravely repulsed in 810 and the two succeeding years.

At this period we have some vague account of a political intercourse between our petty kings and Charlemagne, whose biographers inform us that he rendered the kings of the Scots so devoted to his interests by his munificence, that they declared themselves his faithful subjects and vassals.

The custom of summoning abbots and bishops to attend the monarch in his warlike expeditions was abolished in 797.

About the year 815, the Danes, having perhaps in contemplation the conquest of the whole island, arrived with a large fleet and force under Turgesius. By means of continual reinforcements from home, and the treacherous alliance of some of our native princes, they established several settlements on the coasts, and maintained their tyrannous possession for thirty years. The cruelty of the Danes is to be chiefly accounted for by their bitter animosity to the Christian religion. For this feeling there was a sufficient cause. All the northern nations were bound by strong ties, derived from the similarity of their languages and the identity of their Pagan superstitions. Some mistaken champions of Christianity had inflicted on the Northmen sundry cruelties; and the Saxons had fled to Denmark, after a vain resistance of thirty years to the persecuting invasion of Charlemagne. The intrepid Danes took upon themselves the

tremendous task of vengeance. They too had their bards, who sung of Thor and Odin, and the sufferings of their devoted worshippers, and who inflamed that rage which was soon discharged along the doomed islands and coasts of Western Europe. Never was religious persecution so fearfully retaliated. Nothing tired, nothing dismayed the Dane. He cared not for his hazardous voyages in frail barks, over dangerous seas; he defied hostile resistance on the invaded shore, and made his fierce and ravaging descent; defeat filled him with fresh revenge, and his return home recruited him for wider havoc. Such was the character of those terrible pirates, who avenged the wrongs inflicted on their Saxon brethren by the violent measures of Charlemagne for reducing them to his creed and yoke. Of all the Gothic nations the Scandinavians were the last to embrace Christianity.

The continued plunder and massacre which the Danes perpetrated in Ireland were undoubtedly provoked by the constant resistance of the natives; though, perhaps, a spirit of vindictiveness and tyranny was natural enough to them. Their persecuting industry is manifested by their frequent ransacks of the same religious foundations. In their second attack on the monastery of Bangor, the abbot and 900 monks were slaughtered in one day. Whatever shrine or temple Christian piety had most richly endowed, Scandinavian rapine was sure to reach. Armagh, Kildare, Inniscattery, Glendalough, and Slane, were its favourite scenes.

These devastators were often severely checked; and it may be safely affirmed that, if any plan of combined operations had been adopted against them, their expulsion would have been easily effected. But our evil genius prevailed. Internal dissensions enfeebled the country, and strengthened the foe. The native princes, so long accustomed to think only of their own petty interests, had perhaps never been troubled with a notion of national independence; and, being chiefly intent upon mutual destruction, often rejoiced in the success of a

Danish foray. A striking instance of the infamous disregard of national interests, so often exhibited by the Irish princes, is to be found in the conduct of Feidlim M'Crímthán, King of Munster, who wore the crown of Cashel in the time of Turgesius. A spirit of aggrandizement had long directed the policy of the Munster princes. Their territory now comprehended almost all the southern half of the island; their power was proportionable. Feidlim could have offered effectual opposition to the Northmen; if he doubted his strength single-handed, he could have organized a formidable coalition; but, instead of making any patriotic effort against the ravagers of his country, that ruin which marked their progress in one quarter distinguished his in another. Their proceedings appear as if concerted. After the noble monastery of Clonmacnois had been sacked by the Danes, it was doomed to the same fate by Feidlim, who burned the land up to the church door, and murdered many of the inmates. Feidlim devastated Kildare, and carried off the clergy captive; shortly after, the Danes renewed the devastation.

This Feidlim was a bold, ambitious prince. In the reign of Niall Calm, the successor of Concovar, who died in 833, after an unusually long reign of fourteen years, Feidlim invaded the monarch's domains, and laid them waste from Birr to Tara. An ancient dispute about the territory of Clare having been revived, he defeated the Connaught troops led by the O'Nialls. On the day he received hostages from the princes of Connaught, he entered Tara, compelled the monarch to deliver hostages, and assumed the supreme sovereignty. A few years after, while spoiling the abbey lands of St. Kieran, the abbot wounded him with his staff, pronouncing a malediction at the same time, from the effects of which, it is said, he never recovered. He devoted the remainder of his days to religious seclusion, and survived but one year.

The Danes were considerably reinforced in the year 837, and Turgesius extended his merciless devastations

in every direction. Not an ecclesiastical edifice of consequence in the island that was not again and again sacked and burned by him, and the inmates butchered, or occasionally carried off as hostages for the sake of the ransom. As many of the ecclesiastical foundations were extremely rich in property, and the shrines often ornamented with the precious metals, the Danish depredations were frequently rewarded with valuable booty.

Notwithstanding the weakness and destruction caused by the different interests of their princes, still the brave but divided people of Ireland maintained a determined though desultory resistance to their invaders. The Danes did not succeed in establishing their power here, as they did in France and England. The sway which they obtained for a few years during the life of Turgeisius declined rapidly after his death, and was never recovered by the subsequent adventurers who from time to time molested the Irish coasts.

In the year 849, the Danes, having been reinforced by an equipment of 140 sail from the Baltic, began their predatory excursions once more. The dissensions of the princes and the people favoured them more than ever. Long-continued domestic feuds had so demoralized the parties concerned in them, that we find the Irish factions joining with the Danes, and dividing with them the spoils of their country. Melachlin, the monarch, was the first to set this iniquitous example, A. D. 850. A like base confederacy enabled Kenneth, prince of Meath, to lay waste the territories of the Hy-Nialls.

In the year 853, three Norwegian princes, named Anlaf, Ivar, and Sitric, landed in Ireland with a large army. They possessed themselves of the maritime positions of Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford. Sitric is supposed to be the founder of Waterford. These brothers were powerful enough to exact tribute from the country. Anlaf spoiled Armagh, and carried his victorious arms into North Britain.

In 897 died the monarch Aodh Finliath, married to Malmaria, daughter of Kenneth M'Alpine, king of the

Scots of North Britain. Of this colony we must not omit a short notice.

The Scots of Ireland were the founders of the Scottish kingdom, and the fountain head of the royal blood of Scotland to the last moment of her existence as an independent principality. The sovereignty of the Stuarts can be traced no farther back than the Dalriads of the North of Ireland. Her present Majesty descends directly from Fergus I.

The Irish colony in Scotland, after many and fierce contests with the heroic Picts, entered into alliance with them, and bade defiance to the Roman power. In the long and glorious reign of Aidan, the allies defeated the Saxons of Westmoreland; but, being subsequently checked by the Bernician king, Æthelfrid, they did not return to try their strength beyond their own boundaries for some centuries.

This colony brought with it from Ireland all those peculiar elements of strife which have been attended with so many misfortunes. The feuds of the two kindred races of Fergus and Lorn distracted and enfeebled the Irish settlers for a century and a half. At last an alternate succession was agreed upon, similar to that of the North and the South Hy-Nialla.

In the middle of the eighth century the broils between the Scots and Picts were renewed, which, after changes of fortune, ended in the accession of a Scoto-Irish prince to the Pictish throne. A matrimonial alliance between Achy, king of the Scots, and Urgusia, a Pictish princess, ultimately extinguished the antipathy between those nations.

Kenneth M'Alpine, grandson of Urgusia, after a terrible victory over the still rebellious Picts, united indissolubly the crowns of Albany and Pictland. This union is the true foundation of the kingdom of Scotia, a name, however, which was not applied to it till the eleventh century.

It was at this period that Kenneth removed the Stone of Destiny from Argyle to Scone.

Flann Siona succeeded Aodh in 879, and married his widow, the Scottish or Albanian princess, Malmaria. This alliance connected three branches of the Hy-Nialls, to the prejudice of the fourth, or Tyrconnel, which was thereby excluded from the succession.

For many years the annals of Ireland had not been marked by any notable event or character, when, in 901, Cormac M'Cullinan, king and bishop of Cashel, appeared, to claim political and literary distinction. Cormac's reign was passed in continual warfare with Leinster, the monarch Flann having by his aggressions provoked hostilities. In the year 907 he defeated the monarch on the plains of Moylena, in the King's County, and obtained hostages as a mark of submission from the Hy-Nialls, who encouraged the people of Leinster to resist the levy of the Boarian tribute, to which the kings of Munster, who had long pursued a steady course of usurpation, laid claim. In a subsequent encounter he perished, with 6000 followers. His natural disposition was peaceable; but Flaherty, the abbot of Inniscattery, acquired an ascendancy over him, and drove him into the field. The chroniclers describe Cormac's reign as the golden age of Ireland; but Moore confesses that "it was, on the contrary, marked throughout with all the worst features of violence and injustice that ordinarily disfigure the face of Irish history."

Flann, the monarch, after a reign of thirty-six years, died in 916, and was succeeded by his roydamna, or heir presumptive, Nial-Glundubh, who, after a short reign, perished in a battle fought with the Danes.

We may here observe that, according to the Irish system of monarchy, the heir to the throne was not necessarily the next of kin to the reigning prince, but an individual chosen in his lifetime, mostly from his own blood, but sometimes arbitrarily, to succeed him. There was a hereditary monarchy, with limitations, depending on the choice of the people, and yet we cannot trace one social or political good accruing to them from that privilege.

We may add, that the monarch elect often acted as if he deemed the right of making war on the reigning monarch one of his prerogatives. In those old times Ireland was for the Irish, who enjoyed the possession, as children do a toy, by tearing it to pieces.

The Culdees were a religious order which appeared in Ireland about the ninth century. They have been the subject of much worthless controversy. There is no mention of them in Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, nor in Bede's history. It is not decided that Columba was the founder.

Upon the death of Niall, Murkerta, his son, became roydamna, Donogh having ascended the throne according to the ruinous system of alternate succession. Murkerta signalized himself against the Danes. This patriotic prince directed all his efforts to expel the stranger; while Callaghan, king of Cashel, imitated their atrocities and depredations, and often acted in alliance with them.

The Danes of Dublin, who, under Anlaf, had made many gallant attempts to establish a kingdom in North-umberland, were converted to Christianity about 948, in which year they founded, it is said, the abbey of St. Mary. Though their power was great, their repose was little, and their sway insecure. Notwithstanding the treachery of many of the native princes, especially those of Leinster, who through cupidity or revenge joined their standard, still the great body of the Irish people maintained a strenuous struggle against them. The rapacious spirit of the Danes survived their paganism; and Kells, Down, Armagh, Lough Ree, Slane, and the distinguished school of Clonard, were still the scenes of their predatory exploits. Nothing hindered their conquering Ireland so much as that division of the kingly authority which prevailed among them, as well as the Anglo-Saxons and the Irish.

In 939, Donogh's roydamna, Murkerta, enforced tribute and hostages from his foes. The Dublin Danes surrendered to him their prince Sitric, and the Munster-

men their fierce king, Callaghan. After a reign of about twenty-five years, Donogh died; during it the country was in the most wretched and distracted state. He was succeeded by Congelach, in consequence of the decease of the roydamna.

For a series of years, the changeful fortune of war continued to give Danish and Irish masters successively to Dublin.

CHAPTER IV.

CONGELACH.—BRIAN BOBU.—RODERIC O'CONNOR.—

A. D. 944 TO 1071.

KENNEDY, king of Munster, was succeeded by his son, Mahon, whose brother, the renowned usurper Brian, was then in his thirty-fourth year. They were of the tribe of the Dalcassians, "who were the first in the field, and the last to leave it." Those heroic princes soon distinguished themselves against the Danes, A. D. 969; they defeated the Danes of Limerick in an engagement at Sulchoid, slew 3000 of them, and pursuing the remainder into the city, sacked and burned it. Mahon fell a victim to the jealousy of a prince, who, detesting his wide-spread fame, invited him to a friendly conference, and barbarously murdered him on the mountains near Macroom. The place of his death is yet called Mahon's Grave. His fate was fearfully avenged by the gallant Brian.

Brian never ceased to harass the Danes. He attacked their settlement in the beautiful and venerated isle of Inniscattery, which he recovered, having slain with his own hand their chieftain, Mark, and his two sons, and baffling all the efforts of Ivor and Anlaf, the generals of their allies from Limerick.

The monarch Congelach was succeeded by Domnal, son of the brave Murkerta, who, after a reign of twenty-four years, ended his days in religious retirement at

Armagh. Malachy the Great was the next prince who wielded the sceptre of the Hy-Nialls. He was doomed to see it wrested from his hands, after having been possessed by his ancestors for more than 500 years.

Malachy's achievements before his downfall merit a short notice. His accession was signalized by a splendid victory over the Danes of Dublin and the isles, who invaded his dominions. The victor boldly turned assailant, and attacking the main body of the enemy, collected from all parts, he overthrew them at Tara, in a conflict which lasted three days and three nights. The discomfited foe was forced to accept whatever terms the monarch pleased to dictate; and, among others, not the least glorious to his patriotism and humanity, was the unconditional liberation of all the Irish held in captivity. The monarch's edict to this effect, known as the "Noble Proclamation," was followed by the release of 2000 persons, among whom were Domnal, king of Leinster, and O'Neill, of Tyrone. The battle of Tara, in which the strength of the Danes was irretrievably broken, and their greatest leaders slain, was the glorious precursor to that of Clontarf.

An effort of the princes of Leinster to rid themselves of the odious and humiliating tribute still exacted by the crown of Munster, brought Brian into collision with them and the monarch Malachy, and perhaps first suggested that daring course of ambition which he successfully pursued till it conducted him to the imperial seat at Tara. O'Phelan, prince of the Decies, organized the confederacy, which the prince of Ossory and the Danes of Cork and Waterford joined. The active Brian was instantly in the field; he fell upon the whole body of the allies, routed them with immense slaughter, entered Waterford, and then broke up the confederacy; proceeded to Ossory, obtained hostages, and made the hereditary prince his prisoner; marched rapidly into Leinster, reduced it to obedience, and received in his very tent acknowledgments of allegiance and homage from its kings.

Such were the early manifestations of that military genius which soon after blazed forth, and shed its lustre upon his long career to its very close—a genius which entitled him to the conspicuous position he subsequently held, and which qualified him for a wider sphere of action—a genius which still recommends him to the historian and the poet.

But these brilliant successes did not procure quiet for Brian; perhaps they only provoked the envy of Malachy, and prompted him to try his prowess against the provincial hero. The monarch made an excursion into the territories of the latter, and, among other injuries, ordered to be cut down that sacred tree in the Plain of Adoration, at Adair, under whose boughs the Dalcassian princes were wont to be inaugurated in Pagan times. Brian smothered his resentment, and Malachy was tempted to commit further aggressions, A. D. 983. He invaded Leinster, which, according to the twofold partition of the island before noticed, was under the dominion of Brian. And thus the mischievous division of the island, which nominally allotted the northern portion to the monarch, and the southern to the crown of Cashel, now engendered or fostered that strife which ended in the elevation of the politic and ambitious Brian to the throne of Tara.

Brian was quickly in motion, and compelled Malachy, without needing to come to blows, to acknowledge his authority over Leinster and the kingdom of Leath-Mogh, or the southern half of Ireland, and his right to the Boarian tribute, which was the point immediately at issue.

These adjustments were followed by a rare interregnum of five years in the reign of civil discord. But Brian was not satisfied: his proud spirit had been stung to the quick by the unprovoked injuries and insults of the superior ruler. Neither is it improbable but that the retaliation he meditated was considerably modified by the view which so able a prince must have taken of the political condition of the nation. His own feelings

were wounded ; his country was torn to pieces by the feuds of rival and reckless chieftains, oppressed by barbarous strangers who held their maritime towns, and plundered their venerated temples, and was no way protected, either against foreign invasion or intestine strife, by an authority able to command respect at home, or to ward off danger from abroad.

Boru—for so was Brian called from his triumphant assertion of his claim to the Boarian tribute—prepared to gratify his resentment against Malachy, and to assume the reins of the imperial government. During the quiet which he enjoyed after his settlement with the monarch, he continued to train and augment the troops composed of his brave clansmen of Clare, to reinforce them from various quarters, and to plan out his intended campaigns. All things being in readiness, he divided his corps, and swept like a tempest over Meath and Connaught.

Meantime the gallant Malachy did not lose sight of the Danes. He besieged them in Dublin, their stronghold, which he reduced to such extremities that the inhabitants were compelled to agree to pay him yearly, in addition to the usual tribute, one ounce of gold for every principal dwelling-house. Subsequently, in 994, he triumphed over them again, carrying off as trophies the golden collar of Tomar, and the sword of Carlus. It was in allusion to these memorable exploits that Moore, whose genius places him at the head of the national poets of all ages, wrote this touching exhortation :

“Let Erin remember the days of old,
Ere her faithless sons betrayed her,
When Malachy wore the collar of gold,
Which he won from the proud invader.”

Malachy's arms were, at this time, successful in Munster ; but, in the following year, Boru retrieved his defeat, and, bearing down all before him, reduced the imperial residence at Tara to ruins. This success was followed by a treaty of peace, in which, perhaps, both parties were influenced by a conviction of the ruin they were bringing upon their common country.

One auspicious result of the peace was a powerful combination against the Danes. Malachy and Brian beset them in Dublin, and carried away spoils and hostages. In the following year the Danes, with all their forces, attacked the combined armies, but suffered a ruinous defeat, A. D. 1000.

Some time after, Sitric, king of the Northmen of Dublin, ravaged Leinster, and seized upon the king, M'Donald; but the resolute Brian delivered his liegeman, plundered the city, and compelled the inhabitants to banish Sitric.

In this same year, the evil genius of Malachy prompted him to another encroachment on the rights of Brian, by an invasion of Leinster. The latter collected auxiliaries from Connaught, Leinster, and Dublin, and marched to Tara. Malachy, quailing before his rival's imposing force, appealed to his generosity, gave hostages, and prevailed, it is said, on Brian to retire without striking a blow.

Had Brian's mind been made up, it is probable that this visit to Tara would have put an end to the dynasty of the Hy-Nialls. In the following year, however, he came to a decision. He set out for Tara, dethroned the monarch, and received his submission and his acknowledgment of allegiance.

This usurpation was provoked, and met with little opposition. The four branches of the Hy-Nialls resisted,—the two excluded from the succession, as well as the two (the Tyrone and Clan-Connell) who ultimately enjoyed it. But the fortune of Brian, as usual, prevailed. He defeated the legitimists at Athlone.

As occurs in almost every case of usurpation, Brian's sovereignty had, for its own security, to assume the form and practice of a military dictatorship. The fallen monarch—for the sake, we may conjecture, of the public repose—acquiesced in it, and, to support a government which he saw it was hopeless to endeavour to subvert, lent Brian all his aid and influence.

To preserve his authority, Brian was ever on foot. His

royal progresses were incessant. He visited Armagh frequently, the cathedral of which he enriched with many costly gifts. Visiting Antrim, the Dalriadan princes and all those of the Hy-Nialls acknowledged him as liege-lord, and gave hostages. His vigorous administration could not fail of being attended by peace and order. Such private virtues and public tranquillity prevailed, that the legendary historians tell us a maiden walked alone and unmolested over the whole kingdom, adorned with gold and gems, with a white wand in her hand, having on its top a costly ring. Moore's song, "Rich and rare were the gems she wore," is founded on this pretty tale, to which parallels may be found in Danish and Saxon fables.

The horizon, however, again darkened, and the repose of the aged monarch was invaded. The king of Leinster, and the Danes, reinforced from Scotland and the neighbouring isles, from Denmark, and all parts of Scandinavia, assumed a menacing aspect. Brian advanced to Dublin, and encamped at Kilmainham. Undaunted by the formidable array against him, he prepared for the encounter without delay. The hostile armies met on the plains of Clontarf, on Good Friday, April 23, 1014.* The Danes and

* The following curious astronomical verification of the date of the battle of Clontarf was made by the learned Professor Samuel Haughton, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, at the request of the Rev. Dr. Todd. It establishes that the battle, according to tradition, began on the morning of Good Friday, April 23, 1014. Mr. Haughton justly concludes that much of the narrative of the battle must have been written by an eye-witness. I cannot easily abridge calculations of this kind, and shall merely give entire what is deemed most valuable:—

"Some time ago I was asked by the Rev. Dr. Todd to calculate for him the time of occurrence of high water on the 23rd April, 1014, the day of the battle of Clontarf; as he believed that such calculation would throw important light on the accounts that exist of that famous battle.

"From 12 o'clock, noon, of the 23rd April, 1014, to noon of the 12th December, 1860, allowing for the change of style and leap years, there were 309223 real days.

"The synodical period of the moon is 29·530588715 days, and

their dishonourable Irish allies were divided into three corps: the first included the Danes of Dublin and 1000 Northmen, in coats of mail; the second, the Lagenians, commanded by the king, Maolmurda, and some friendly dynasts; the third, the numerous bands of newly-arrived auxiliaries from the Baltic, conducted by their admiral, Brooder.

Brian also drew out his forces into three divisions: the first, led by Murrough, his son, was composed of the Dalcassians, the troops of Malachy, now king of Meath, and those of Connemara; the second of the Eugenians, the Decians, and of various southern septs, commanded by Cian and Donald, together with a fair proportion of

new moon occurred on the 12th December, 1860, at 47·6 minutes after noon. Multiplying the length of the synodical month by 10472 months, we find

$$29\cdot530688715 \times 10472 = 309244\cdot325 \text{ days.}$$

From which, subtracting the number of days from 23rd April, 1014, to 12th December, 1860, or 309223 days, we find

$$21\cdot325 \text{ days, or } 21^d 7^h 48^m$$

"It follows from this calculation that new moon occurred at

April,	. . .	23 ^d	0 ^h	47·6—1014, A. D.
Minus	. . .	21 ^d	7 ^h 48 ^m	

Or, at . . . 1^d 16^h 59·6^m—April, 1014, A. D.

i. e., at 5 o'clock on the morning of the 2nd of April.

"Therefore full moon occurred at

April,	. . .	1 ^d	16 ^h 59·6 ^m
Plus	. . .	14	18 21·6
		16 ^d	11 ^h 21·2 ^m

Therefore the astronomical, or true full moon, occurred at twenty-one minutes past eleven at night of the 16th April, 1014.

"Calculating by the established rules, the calendar or ecclesiastical full moon occurred on the 18th April, 1014 (Sunday), which would therefore make Easter Day fall on the 25th April, and make the 23rd April Good Friday, agreeable to the traditions of the battle of Clontarf."—"Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. vii., p. 495.

northern allies, under the conduct of leaders of the Hy-Niall dynasty; the third division consisted chiefly of the Connaught forces under O'Connor, son of their king. These divisions were opposed to each other. In the battles of those times single combat was frequent among the leaders. On this occasion Murrough and his glorious son, Turlough, a youth of fifteen, distinguished themselves. Murrough slew Sitric, son of the earl of Orkneys, cutting him in twain with one blow of his battle-axe. He was then engaged by Anrud, brother of the slain prince, whom he shook out of his coat of mail and ran through. As Murrough stooped over him, the dying Norwegian drew a dagger which hung at the victor's side, and gave him a mortal stab. The chief command now fell to the brave and disinterested Malachy, who brought the day to a triumphant termination.

The enemy's loss has been estimated at 8000 men, with a vast number of their best commanders,—among them the king of Leinster, the prime cause of all the strife.

The melancholy death of the venerable Boru cast a gloom over this memorable victory. He was slain in his tent, while returning thanks to heaven for prospering his arms, by Brooder, the Danish admiral, who was flying that way when the rout became general. Brian's body-guard, which had been despatched to join in the pursuit, returned in time to seize Brooder, upon whom they speedily wreaked their vengeance.

Next day the monks of St. Columba, at Swords, bore Brian's body thither; from Swords it was conveyed to Duleek; and finally to Armagh, where it was interred with great pomp. It was accompanied by the remains of Murrough and two other chieftains of the family.

While yet the camp was at Kilmainham, Cian, the Eugenic chief, with disgraceful impatience, put forward his claim to the vacant throne of Munster in virtue of the alternate succession. He demanded hostages of Teige and Donchad, sons of Brian, who peremptorily refused them. The timely interference of Domnal, an

Eugenian who shared the command with Cian, put a stop to the revolting contention.

Donchad broke up his camp, and proceeded towards home. M'Gillpatrick refused him a passage through Ossory, unless he acknowledged his authority by giving hostages. Donchad resisted the demand, and prepared for battle. His army had been much reduced in number, but its hereditary valour remained. The very sick and wounded insisted upon being distributed through the ranks, tied to stakes for support. This touching and terrible spectacle dismayed the men of Ossory and their dishonourable prince, who drew them off without striking a blow.

In estimating Brian's character, we should not examine it with too much nicety; large allowances must be made in consideration of the position in which he was placed, and the society and institutions by which he was surrounded. His military talents, energy, and perseverance, were great, but in the arts of peace he was not conspicuous. Nursed in troubles, he scarcely understood the blessings of repose. It is doing him a wrong to contrast him with Alfred, who had full scope for his zeal and talent in improving his people. Alfred's will was law,—Brian's sword. Alfred's mind was better cultivated than Brian's; and his knowledge gave him a superior power, as well as taste, for promoting civilization.

Almost the only stain on Brian's memory is his usurpation. The seizing of a sceptre, however, was no uncommon event in his time; and he who wrested it was supposed to have some right to it for his trouble in doing so. His bold act does not appear, therefore, to have excited much popular indignation; indeed, the plentiful supply of kings must naturally have made the body of the nation somewhat indifferent as to who should be their ruler.

Brian is blamed for setting up the imperial crown as the prize of lawless competition,—a proceeding which is supposed to have had a baneful influence on the fortunes of his country. Undoubtedly his usurpation helped

to dissipate the shadowy throne of Tara; but, had he never coveted it, we may easily believe that those distractions, and that want of national spirit which favoured the Danes in his own time would, at any subsequent period, favour them or any other adventurers. Brian died in his eighty-eighth year.

The weight which kept Malachy down having been removed by the death of Brian, he floated once more to the throne of Tara. Every circumstance tended to a restoration. Sympathy for his humbled fortunes, the fame of his military abilities, his forgetfulness of his own wrongs, his memory of his country's, and his devotion to her cause, together with his splendid services on the plains of Clontarf, operated in his favour. Nor were other circumstances wanting to strengthen the effect of those. The right of primogenitureship not being recognised in Ireland, Boru's power was divided among his surviving sons, Teige and Donchad. Even their claim was disputed by the Eugenic prince, who, in virtue of the alternate system, had a right to the succession. The heirs of Brian, therefore, had to relinquish Tara, and struggle for Munster. Finally, the jealousy of these brothers removed every obstacle out of Malachy's way, who, accordingly, reassumed his dignity without opposition. The powerful tribes of the Hy-Nials were neither indifferent nor inactive at this important crisis.

After being deposed for twelve years, Malachy was reinstated in his hereditary rights. The remainder of his life was spent in the goodly work of eradicating the roots of the Danes, which Boru had not reached. He had many fierce encounters with them, in all of which he was victorious. On some of those occasions Donchad, the son of Boru, followed the generous and patriotic example of Malachy, by fighting against the invader under Malachy's standard, as Malachy had done under his father's.

After a reign of forty-three years,—for the honest Irish annalists do not curtail him because of his misfortunes,—he died in 1022, leaving behind him the proud

distinction that he had never entered into any alliance with the Danes, even as auxiliaries. This is an honour which Boru could not make pretension to, as the Danes formed his vanguard in his first attack upon Tara.

On the death of the accomplished Malachy, the monarchy was put in commission. A poet and a priest were appointed to discharge its functions during the *interregnum*; but subsequently the princes of Meath took the administration into their own hands.

The strife between Donchad and Teige, sons of Boru, was brought to a close, by a plot concerted by the former, which rid him of his brother, A. D. 1023. Donchad, by his nefarious act, succeeded to the kingdom of Munster. He extended his sway over Connaught, Leinster, and the yet undevastated plains of Dublin. He was enlarging his boundaries, when Turlough, son of his murdered brother, gave him a check. After several encounters, Donchad was obliged to resign his crown to his victorious nephew, after which he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he died in 1064. Donchad's second wife was daughter of Earl Godwin, and sister of Harold, king of England, who had been a refugee at his brother-in-law's court.

After the death (1072) of his generous relative, Dermot, king of Leinster, Turlough had no competitor to fear. His supremacy was generally acknowledged. He dethroned the king of the Dublin Danes, and put his son in his place. Murchad, son of Dermot, was the first Irish king of the Danes. Turlough reigned twenty-two years, and died, aged 77, at Kincora, A. D. 1086. He had the honour of receiving a letter from Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and another from Pope Gregory VII., in both of which he is addressed as the "Illustrious Monarch of Ireland."

As usual, the father's kingdom was divided among the sons. Turlough had three: Teige, who died; Murkerta, who seized his throne; and Dermot, whom the latter banished. Murkerta's pretensions to the supreme sovereignty were disputed by Domnal, the representative

of the Hy-Nials. Domnal invaded Munster in 1088, laid it waste, and set fire to the palace of Kincora. His rival retaliated, and made himself master of Leinster and Dublin. The disputants were brought to agree to the old settlement, which gave the North to the Hy-Nials, and the South to the kings of Cashel. On this occasion the southern prince did homage to his brother of the North, which complaisance was returned by Domnal next year. The contest between these princes lasted eight-and-twenty years, during which period the petty chieftains imitated their example, and tore the country to pieces. After sundry encounters with the Danes of the Isles, and with his rival Domnal, Murkerta resigned his kingdom to his brother Dermot, retired to the monastery of Lismore, and died there, A. D. 1119. He was buried in the church of Killaloe. Domnal survived him two years.

Murkerta had, as we have just mentioned, resigned his dominions to Dermot, his brother. The death of the former left Domnal undisputed monarch, but Domnal's demise was followed by an interregnum of fifteen years. During this long period many candidates for the monarchy appeared, among whom O'Connor, king of Connaught, and Dermot O'Brien, were the principal. O'Connor succeeded, by skilfully detaching the Eugenians from the Dalcassians, between whom the fashionable hereditary jealousy existed, and by dividing the Dalcassians themselves; but he met another and more formidable competitor in Conor O'Brien, who ascended the throne of Munster in 1120. O'Connor was driven to extremities, but the Church interfered, and negotiated security for him.

The abilities of his successor, Turlough, proved his lineage; but his heartless kinsmen, the Eugenians, having sided with O'Connor, he was no longer a match for his rival. Roderic, the monarch's son, surprised him at Kincora, and burned his palace to the ground; and soon after vanquished him in a general engagement at Moinmor, where 7000 of the Momonians, and the principal

Dalcassian princes, were slain. The monarch rewarded the treachery of the two Eugénian princes who deserted from Turlough, by dividing his kingdom of Munster between them.

But Turlough's cause was espoused by O'Loughlin, king of Tyrone, the legitimate representative of the Hy-Níalls, who took this step as preliminary to the assertion of his claims to the sovereignty. The Ulster dynasts joined him; O'Connor was defeated, and O'Brien restored. O'Loughlin now stood forth a bold competitor for Tara. He collected a fleet from Scotland, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man; but O'Connor, with the navy of the north and west, utterly dispersed it. Before his death in 1156, he had the gratification of receiving hostages and homage from the king of Munster. He bequeathed all his valuable effects to the Church, and was buried near the altar of St. Kieran, at Clonmacnois.

In 1152, Cardinal Paparo, legate of pope Eugene III., presided at a synod held at Kells. He brought with him palliums, or episcopal cloaks, for the four archbishops. This distinction was obtained for the Irish Church by the influence of Malachy with the Roman pontiff.

In 1156, Roderic O'Connor succeeded his father as king of Connaught; but O'Loughlin got possession of the monarchy, and administered it with vigour. The former put forth his pretensions to this prize, but, after several sanguinary struggles, was obliged to give hostages and seek peace. Dermot of Leinster, after the same submission, was confirmed in his kingdom. In the midst of the quiet thus established, troubles broke forth in the North, which ended fatally. An Ulidian prince laid waste some of the royal territories. The monarch overran his kingdom, and banished him; but the rebel was shortly after restored through the mediation of the primate. In the following year, however, the O'Loughlin seized him and put out his eyes, ordering, at the same time, the execution of several leading personages, his friends. This barbarity roused the indignation of several ^{Ul} princes. A battle was, in consequence, fought

near Lough Neagh, in which the monarch fell, with many of his nobility.

Roderic, unopposed, glided into the supreme power, A. D. 1166. He was a disobedient son, and a tyrannic ruler. When he succeeded his father on the throne of Connaught, he deprived two of his brothers of their eyesight, as a security against their possible rivalry. Having loaded one of the chieftains of the Sweeneys with chains, he barbarously slew him with his own hands. The cruelty of his character rendered him detestable—his want of abilities and courage, contemptible.

At the time of Roderic's accession, an old feud between O'Ruarc, prince of Breffny, and Dermot M'Murchad, king of Leinster, broke out afresh. Its origin and progress require to be briefly stated. The clans as well as interests of those princes had been long opposed, and came into collision even as early as 1140; the elopement of O'Ruarc's wife with his foe, in 1153, completed the deadly nature of their enmity. The monarch Tordel-vach avenged the injured husband, and replaced his wife among her relatives in Meath. This base act of Dermot has been erroneously connected with his subsequent expulsion from his kingdom, which took place thirteen years after. But Dermot found a friend in O'Loughlin upon the latter's accession, and during his reign Breffny was oppressed and insulted with impunity; Roderic, however, took the other side, and warmly espoused Breffny's cause. The monarch's power of punishing was greatly increased by a general combination against M'Murchad, of the chiefs and people whom he had wronged or insulted, and of his own subjects, exasperated, as they had long been, by his arbitrary, insolent, and cruel conduct. To O'Ruarc was entrusted the command of the vengeful confederates; Leinster was invaded, and its king, universally abandoned, even by his own vassals, fled for temporary safety to the monastery of Ferns, which he had founded; but, being pressed by his pursuers, he set fire to the town, and effected his escape to England, A. D. 1168.

The unprincipled fugitive resolved upon applying for aid to the English king, Henry II., and with that intention proceeded to Aquitaine, where Henry was pursuing his plans of aggrandizement. His proposals to Henry may be easily conjectured; he offered to hold his kingdom of him as a fief, if restored to it by his assistance. Henry, who had previously entertained designs upon Ireland, and had actually obtained a grant of it from Adrian, the pope, an Englishman, accepted the terms. Embroiled, however at the time with the barons in France, and with the formidable Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, all the help he could afford his new liegeman was letters patent, by which he made known to all his loving subjects that he had received Dermot into the bosom of his grace and benevolence, and had granted to them his license and favour to lend their aid towards his restoration.

With this document Dermot hastened back to Bristol, where, however, all his negotiations were for a long time fruitless; but as he began to despair, he chanced upon a fit instrument for his purposes, Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, a brave man, of ruined fortune and adventurous disposition: he secured Strongbow by a promise of his daughter Eva in marriage, and the succession to the throne of Leinster. Soon after Dermot was fortunate enough to engage in this enterprise Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephen; they were the sons of Nesta, mistress of Henry I., and subsequently of the constable, Stephen de Marisco, the father of Robert. Gerald, Lord Carew, and governor of Pembroke, whom she had married after her separation from her royal lover, was the father of Maurice Fitzgerald. The circumstances and tempers of these half-brothers corresponded with Pembroke's, and disposed them to a ready acceptance of Dermot's offers, which were set off with a promise of the surrender of the town of Wexford and a considerable tract of land adjoining.

Having succeeded thus far, Dermot set out for Ireland

to pave the way for the invasion. He proceeded privately to Ferns, and soon found himself able to take the field without waiting for his allies. It appears that he was assisted by a handful of Welsh auxiliaries; and it is probable that his haste in using them was owing to a hope of being able to dispense with the services of the other adventurers, and of thereby cheating them of their promised rewards. In this precipitate attempt Dermot was disappointed, and forced to retire to his woods by Roderic and O'Ruarc, who, upon his renouncing all claim to the province of Leinster, and delivering hostages, consented to grant him a small tract, to be held from the monarch. This impolitic concession gave the traitor time to bring those designs to maturity, which could have been at once arrested, if the advantages which had been gained over him had been vigorously followed up.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE ENGLISH INVASION, 1171, TO RODERIC O'CONNOR'S
ABDICATION, 1182.

THE month of May disclosed to his opponents the error they had committed, when Dermot's Anglo-Norman allies appeared. This force consisted of thirty knights, sixty men in coats of mail, and 300 Welsh archers, commanded by Fitzstephen and Hervey de Mountmorris, uncle of Strongbow. They landed near Wexford. At the same spot, on the next day, a Welsh gentleman, named Maurice Prendergast, arrived with ten knights and sixty archers. Dermot soon joined the invaders with 500 men, all he could muster. The whole force marched upon Wexford, which was inhabited chiefly by Dano-Irish. The citizens, to the number of 2000, went out to oppose them; but, dismayed by the shining equipments, the skilful array, the novelty of their wea-

pons, and the undaunted determination manifested through their scanty ranks, they fled back, and, burning the suburbs of the city, retired within its walls. Fitzstephen advanced to scale the walls, but the defenders, recovered from their panic, successfully repulsed him. He renewed the attack next day, and Wexford, without another struggle, capitulated. The lordship and demesne of the city were invested, according to promise, in Fitzstephen and Fitzgerald; and a tract of country, well known as the barony of Forth, was bestowed on Mountmorris.

After this dawning of good fortune, Dermot proceeded to Ferns, where he regaled his friends for three weeks, unmolested by the supine monarch or the apathetic princes. He then invaded Ossory with a force increased by the garrison of Wexford to 3000 men, and overran it; but Roderic showing at last some symptoms of resistance, the victor thought it prudent to keep quiet for a season. Meantime Roderic convoked a general assembly of the princes and chiefs at Tara, when it was determined that they should march an army to Dublin. Thither the Irish troops proceeded; but upon their arrival the northern princes returned home, leaving O'Connor and O'Ruarc to protect the interests of the realm. The desertion of the northerns was, however, happily imitated by Dermot's Irish retainers: the former deserted their country—the latter their king. The Normans, as became men, continued true to their employer and their adventure.

Roderic now invested Dermot at Ferns, where the latter was well defended by the nature of the place and his own contrivances, yet still better by the spirits he had summoned from Wales; but, instead of striking the blow which valour and wisdom demanded, he had recourse to a paltry negotiation, having for its object the dissolution of the league between Dermot and his allies. The weakness manifested by this conduct, combined with his tampering with both parties, united them more firmly than ever; but the pusillanimous monarch persisted in his ef-

forts at an accommodation, till he effected one as disgraceful to himself as ruinous to his country : the terms were, that Dermot should acknowledge Roderic's supremacy, and deliver up his son as hostage, and that, in return, the kingdom of Leinster should belong to him and his heirs for ever. In a secret article the dismissal of the strangers was settled on.

But Dermot had no intention of keeping the secret article, or any other, only as might be convenient. Upon the arrival of Maurice Fitzgerald with about 150 men, he took him as his colleague in the command of an army destined to punish the citizens of Dublin, to whom he had been long odious for his cruelties and his vices, and who had chosen a governor from among themselves. When fire and sword had glutted his vengeance, he condescended to accept the renewed allegiance of the city.

Dermot, notwithstanding the late settlement, marched into Munster to aid its king, who had taken advantage of Roderic's difficulties to throw off his allegiance ; this movement compelled Roderic to evacuate the south, and retreat to Connaught.

Dermot's success enlarged his views, and encouraged him to look for the monarchy. In this bold enterprise Strongbow appeared essentially necessary ; his promise was accordingly pressed upon him, which, after an interview with Henry, who was yet in Normandy, he prepared to fulfil, by sending over to Waterford, Raymond le Gros, with ten knights and seventy archers. Upon their landing they raised a fort, which was soon attacked by 3000 men from the city ; these, after having driven back the foreigners, were ultimately defeated with great slaughter. By the advice of Montmorris, seventy of the prisoners, leading citizens, were thrown headlong into the sea, after having their limbs broken : this barbarous violation of the laws of nations, and of common justice, was never exceeded by the Irish in their most inhuman acts.

Strongbow was on the eve of embarking for Ireland, when he was reached by an order from his sovereign,

forbidding him to leave the kingdom. He set sail, nevertheless, accompanied by 200 knights and 1000 men, and landed near Waterford: being joined by Raymond, he captured the city, deluging the streets with blood.

Dermot, Fitzgerald, and Fitzstephen, arrived at the moment of victory. The king and the earl met with mutual satisfaction, and the immediate marriage of Eva with the latter cemented their interests.

After the nuptials the combined forces set out for Dublin, whose governor, Hasculf, had revolted; Roderic was also in arms at Clondalkin, near that city. Dermot, learning that the direct passage was thronged by the enemy, made a circuit, and took the city by surprise. Meanwhile Waterford was recovered by the king of Desmond, and the monarch marched into East Meath to confirm O'Ruarc in its possession. Dermot, leaving Dublin to the care of Miles Cogan, through whose instrumentality it was taken, entered Meath, and, as the fashion was, laid it waste. Roderic, able to do little more, sent deputies to Dermot to complain of his conduct, and to threaten him with the execution of his hostages if he did not desist. Dermot, who cared as little for his hostages as for his oath, answered that he would never rest till placed in the monarchy, which he claimed as being descended from Murkerta O'Brien. Roderic put his hostages to death, among whom were the son, grandson, and foster-nephew of Dermot.

About this time a synod, convened at Armagh, declared that the calamity of the English Invasion was a punishment brought upon the nation for its traffic in English slaves. The English, as their own historians unanimously confess, had been long in the habit of selling their children to the Irish, the great slave-market being held in Bristol. By a decree of this pious but simple assembly, all the English slaves were ordered to be set at liberty.

Shortly after this convocation Dermot died, impenitent, of a loathsome disease.

The Anglo-Normans were now in a precarious condi-

tion. Henry, resenting Strongbow's disobedience, had ordered him and his followers home on pain of forfeiture and banishment; the earl, instead of complying, dispatched Raymond to satisfy the king, with a submissive letter tendering to him all his conquests. Henry, now the object of universal odium, in consequence of the assassination of Becket, was too much embarrassed to display any more displeasure than a silent disregard of the earl's letter.

The earl stood now in a conspicuous position; no longer a mere ally or adventurer, he appeared, on Dermot's decease, as king of Leinster; in this character, however, his dangers were greater than ever; the adherents of Dermot did not feel themselves much disposed to his son-in-law, and many of Henry's subjects returned home in obedience to the royal mandate. Strongbow's affairs called him from Dublin, whose former governor, Hasculf, made a furious attack on it, but he was defeated and executed. Scarcely had this danger passed, when a greater appeared; the patriotic archbishop, O'Toole, traversed the country, employed all his eloquence to convince the chiefs of their fatal errors, and succeeded in congregating an army that may be called national, if the term could be rightly comprehended at the time. It is said to have amounted to 30,000 men, and among its leaders was to be seen the heroic prelate; it was supported by a fleet of thirty vessels collected from the Isle of Man and other islands.

This vast army lay inactive before the city for two entire months; a strict blockade, however, was maintained, and Strongbow was reduced to the necessity of proposing to accept Leinster as a fief from the monarch, provided the latter would raise the siege. This proposition was, probably at the suggestion of the courageous archbishop, indignantly rejected, and an immediate assault threatened, unless the earl agreed to surrender to Roderic, Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford, and to depart on a certain day, with all his forces, from Ireland. In this exigence the besieged determined to cut their way

through the enemy; their sudden sally, though their whole force amounted to no more than 700 men, spread consternation among the besiegers, whom they dispersed in a few hours. In the evening the English returned into the city, laden with spoil.

This success was followed by Strongbow's departure to the assistance of Fitzstephen, who was pressed hard in the fort of Carrig, near Waterford; but before his succour arrived the fort had been surrendered, in consequence, it is said, of an imposture of the Irish, who assured the commander, upon oath, that Dublin was recovered, and Strongbow and his garrison cut to pieces. Unable to aid his friend Fitzstephen, who was in chains, the earl, "with a sorrowful heart," turned towards Waterford; there he met Mountmorris, who had just returned from England with advices from the earl's friends, urging him to appear before Henry immediately. He complied, and met the king in Gloucestershire, at the head of an expedition prepared for Ireland. Henry's displeasure was still unabated; but he was reconciled to Strongbow by a bargain which secured to him the surrender of all the cities and maritime towns which had become the earl's prize, and which guaranteed to the latter all his other possessions, on condition of fealty to the English crown.

After this amicable adjustment, Henry, accompanied by Strongbow, De Bohun, De Lacy, and other lords, and a force of 500 knights and 4000 men at arms, set sail for Ireland, and landed near Waterford, October 18, 1171.

During Strongbow's absence the Irish chiefs worried one another, as usual; O'Ruarc alone directed his attention to the invaders; he made an assault on Dublin, which had a scanty garrison; but, unsupported by discipline and coolness, it proved abortive; and Cogan, the governor, repelled the assailants with great slaughter.

Hoping to impose on Henry, the treacherous captors of Fitzstephen presented him to the king, "as one who

had made war without his sovereign's permission;" this prudent prince, affecting to be blind to their motives, and wishing to appear rather as a protector than aggressor, imprisoned his brave liegeman in Reginald's Tower.

The Irish kings now began to show how little they valued their own honour, and the independence of their country. The king of Desmond, who had the year before been in alliance with Fitzstephen against the wretched monarch, presented himself to Henry as the first tributary slave and renegade. O'Brien, king of Thomond, met him at Cashel, and surrendered Limerick; the other "potentates of Munster" followed this example, and returned home delighted, like Indian chiefs, with the gifts of their munificent visitor.

After returning to Waterford, where he released Fitzstephen, Henry marched to Dublin. The neighbouring princes flocked round him with their submissions, and among them was to be seen even the veteran O'Ruarc. Roderic made a show of resistance, but universally deserted as he was, his heart—never a very stout one—sank within him; despairing of his country, he meanly purchased peace for himself by doing homage and agreeing to pay tribute. The royal swarm, which so hopefully invite us to "remember the days of old," were sumptuously entertained by the English sovereign, during the following Christmas, in a pavilion made of twigs, as there was no residence in Dublin sufficiently large for his numerous court.

A synod was held in Cashel in 1172, by order of Henry; the pretended object was, to reform Church abuses, and restore ecclesiastical discipline; the real, to fix charges upon the Irish Church in order to justify the motive, namely, reform of abuses, affected by Adrian in his Bull granting Ireland to Henry. The decrees of this synod were of little importance; one, however, must be noticed, which limited the degrees of consanguinity within which marriage may be lawful. This simple ordinance suggested a monstrous slander, which was put

forward with equal malice and effrontery by the chronicler Brompton, and propagated by others; the calumny was no less than that polygamy, and marriage with sisters, prevailed in Ireland.

Henry, who knew that over-zeal for the interests of the Church had often blinded the clergy to the interests of their country, issued an order of council enjoining the payment of tithes, hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with that influential body; but the Irish had as strong an aversion to tithes then as at any subsequent period, and continued long obstinate in their refusal to pay them.

In a council held at Lismore—not a parliament, nothing that could be fairly called one having been known in England for a century after—Henry insured to his English subjects the enjoyment, in their adopted country, of their own laws and customs; this act has been absurdly represented as an extension of the British law and constitution to Ireland.

In February, 1172, Henry went to Waterford, leaving Hugh de Lacy governor of Dublin, which, with as much ease and indifference as though it had been an ancient hereditary possession, he had bestowed on the inhabitants of Bristol. Putting De Bohun in charge of Waterford, and Fitzaldelm of Wexford, he set sail from the latter city for Wales, on the 17th of April.

During his stay here he conferred the patrimony of the kings of Tara, consisting of about 800,000 acres, on De Lacy, who was also honoured with the dignity of lord constable. Other high offices were bestowed on the leading adventurers.

Shortly after Henry's departure O'Ruarc complained to De Lacy of the prejudice done him in depriving him of Meath; a conference having been agreed on, the parties exchanged oaths and sureties for mutual good faith, and met unarmed, but accompanied each by a stipulated number of attendants. The principals discussed their affair with the aid of an interpreter, while their adherents stood apart; after some debate hot temper

began to show itself: it is probable that De Lacy denied O'Ruarc any claim to reparation, on the ground of his being himself a usurper, and that this opened the way for mutual revilings. O'Ruarc made a signal to his soldiers to join him, but whether he acted from deliberate treachery or the sudden transport of rage it is impossible to determine; nay, it is hard to believe that he began the fray, although the blame is generally laid upon him; for in Maurice Fitzgerald's immediate presence when the quarrel began, and in the manoeuvring of Gryffith with his seven mounted knights hovering round the place of conference, and tilting at one another as if in pastime, there is something so suspicious, that one cannot help thinking De Lacy guilty of foul play. However it be, a brief but active conflict ensued, which ended in the rout of the Irish party, and the death of O'Ruarc, who was transfixed by Gryffith's lance. De Lacy twice narrowly escaped death from the battle-axe of O'Ruarc, which Fitzgerald intercepted with his sword. The body of the chieftain was buried with his heels upwards; his head was hung upon the gates of Dublin, and afterwards sent to Henry.

Strongbow fixed his court at Ferns; O'Dempsey, a Leinster chieftain, was summoned to attend it; he refused, and Strongbow laid waste his territory. As he was returning with his booty, O'Dempsey fell upon his rere, and slew his son-in-law, De Quincy, whose nuptials had been celebrated at Ferns a short time previously, and who had received as dowry a large tract in Wexford. This successful attack, which gave encouragement to the Irish, was the cause of much uneasiness to the earl, and especially as he had to leave the country to attend upon Henry in France.

In his absence a spirit of defection and of general reaction spread among the native princes; they were stimulated by the opportunity, the discontent which prevailed in the English army, and the difficulties with which they discovered Henry to be surrounded. Little time, however, had been left them for any important

measures, when Strongbow returned in the quality of viceroy.

His first care was to allay the dissatisfaction of the troops: their chief complaint was against his uncle, Harvey Mountmorris, who had rendered himself unpopular among them; they required that the chief command should be restored to Raymond, who owed his popularity to the unbridled license he allowed the army in their passion for plundering expeditions. This demand being enforced by a threat of either leaving the country or joining the natives, the earl had to comply with it. Raymond lulled the discontent of the troops, who were actuated more by love of spoliation than the glory of conquest; he rewarded their attachment and gratified their wishes by leading them immediately to the work of rapacity and ravage; his first irruptions were made into Ophaly and Munster, after which he sacked Lismore, and bore off 4000 oxen. His good fortune and popularity enlarged his ambition, and he proposed for Basilia, the viceroy's sister, but, having met with a refusal, he suddenly withdrew to Wales.

Mountmorris was again placed at the head of the army, but no undertaking prospered while he was there. He and Strongbow proceeded to chastise Donald O'Brien; but O'Brien having cut to pieces a reinforcement from Dublin, which he surprised on their way, the viceroy shut himself up in Waterford. The standard of revolt was now raised in all quarters; even Roderic took the field. To meet his emergencies, Mountmorris induced Raymond to return by promising to give him the fair Basilia; the delighted lover gathered together a small reinforcement, and appeared before Waterford just as the citizens were meditating a general rising upon the garrison, which was, in consequence, frustrated. Strongbow* had gone to Wexford to superintend his sister's

* Strongbow, on this occasion, bestowed on his brother-in-law the high offices of constable and standard-bearer of Leinster, and the lands of Fethard, Glancorrey, Idrone, and that part of Kilkenny called, by a corruption of his name, Grace's Country.

marriage with the chivalric Raymond. The nuptial rejoicings had not yet ceased when news arrived of the massacre of all the English of Waterford, except the garrison in Reginald's Tower. The garrison had provoked this rising by their tyrannical and rapacious deeds.

Raymond was soon called to Dublin to check Roderic, who had overrun the province to the borders of the city, and whose loose and tumultuous army was dispersed as hastily as it had been mustered. He then marched to Limerick, to take vengeance on O'Brien for his achievement the preceding year,—a matter of easy accomplishment, as the citizens abandoned the defences upon his approach, terrified at Meyler's intrepidity in dashing through the rapid current of the Shannon, which surrounded the city.

In 1175 Fitzaldelm and the prior of Wallingford, as commissioned by Henry, held a synod of the Irish bishops, and laid before them the celebrated Bull of Adrian, which had been slumbering for four-and-twenty years, and also the brief of Alexander III., confirming it, on the same conditions of Peter's pence, that is, a tribute of a penny a year from every householder. Henry was too much embroiled on the Continent to be able to subjugate Ireland by force, and now tried the efficacy of these documents over a people whose political views were few and narrow, and whose respect for the pastoral authority was almost boundless.

At the closing of the synod the commissioners repaired to the king, then in Normandy, and made such a representation of Raymond's conduct, whom they charged with designs on the supreme authority, and with employing the army rather as freebooters than soldiers, that Henry sent over two lords to bring him before him. Raymond was about obeying when news arrived of the investment of Limerick by the indefatigable Donald. Strongbow's troops refused to move without their favourite leader, who accordingly, with the consent of the royal messengers, and his own apparent reluctance,

marched to relieve the city. O'Brien raised the siege, and posted himself near Cashel, at a defile through which the English had to pass; Raymond forced it, and obtained so complete a victory that the O'Brien had to sue for peace: at the same time the unfortunate Roderic became his fellow-suitor. Raymond received them into favour upon giving hostages and renewing their fealty; he then proceeded to liberate the prince of Desmond, who was detained in prison by his son. The liberator was rewarded with the munificent grant of a large tract in Kerry; the undutiful son was beheaded.

Roderic, who was as ready to give as to receive hostages, for the haughty are intrinsically mean, resolved by an explicit and timely submission to secure whatever remained of the monarchy. With this view he sent to Henry, as plenipotentiaries, his chancellor, the archbishop O'Toole, the archbishop of Tuam, and the abbot of St. Bundan's. A treaty was concluded, by which Henry *granted* to his liegeman and *vassal*, Roderic, as long as he continued faithfully to *serve* him, the possession of his hereditary territories, the full enjoyment of all his rights, and the free exercise of his royal functions throughout the island, as before the invasion, except those parts immediately under the dominion of the king of England. Those parts were afterwards called the Pale: they comprised Dublin, part of Leinster, Meath, Waterford, and the country from thence to Dungarvan.

The language of this convention, or rather charter, seems to us insulting enough; but probably it was not so felt by our last monarch, who, as well as all his ancestors, had been tributary before. By the negociation he obtained a respite of little use to himself, his race, or his country; certainly nothing that could be permanently beneficial to any party. The good prelates were simple indeed, if they imagined that they could secure any advantage to the nation by that treaty.

Strongbow died in 1176, in Dublin, and thither Raymond immediately repaired, having delivered up Lime-rick to Donald, on an oath of fidelity, which he disho-

nourably broke, by burning the city. The earl was interred in Christ Church.

Raymond succeeded to the government, of which he was soon after deprived by his jealous master, who still entertained apprehensions of his designs. Fitzaldelm was sent to Ireland as justiciary, attended by John de Courcy, Miles Cogan, and Robert Fitzstephen. The new viceroy sought to establish a peaceable, though not an honest government, and to extend the power and dominion of Henry rather by political artifice than by the sword; he was therefore unpopular with the adventurous and rapacious leaders about him. One of these, and second in authority, De Courcy, so celebrated for his personal prowess, undertook the conquest of Ulster, where the English arms had not yet been felt, contrary to the express prohibition of Fitzaldelm.

De Courcy, taking with him only 300 men, broke into the north; he captured Downpatrick, and delivered it to the fury of his soldiers. Vivian, the Pope's legate, who had just arrived from Scotland, and was secretly employed by his Holiness and Henry in undermining the independence of the Irish nation, sought to mediate for Dunlevy, the prince upon whom this unprovoked aggression was made; his efforts not availing, he encouraged Dunlevy to resistance. This prince speedily assembled, it is said, 10,000 men, but experienced a miserable defeat in the well-contested battle which ensued. In other quarters of the province De Courcy was equally rapid and successful.

Vivian, the legate, convoked a council of bishops and abbots in Dublin. He descanted on Henry's rights over Ireland, the Pope's Bull from which they were derived, and the necessity of obeying the Bull under pain of excommunication. Thus were even the clergy engaged, actively and passively, in enslaving this devoted people, and their services were soon amply rewarded by magnificent endowments.

The means of conquest were never matters of scruple. Dissensions among the native princes, which the inva-

ders diligently promoted, presented frequent advantages. At this time Murty quarrelled with his father, Roderic, and fled for aid to the Deputy. Roderic's behaviour since the last treaty was unexceptionable; still, hoping that the province would be the fruit of his interference, Fitzaldelm sent Milo* with a body of troops to aid the rebellious son. Milo and Murty crossed the Shannon; the inhabitants destroyed such provisions and effects as they could not take along with them, set fire to their residences, and fled to the fastnesses, leaving behind a scene of desolation which had its intended effect of distressing the invaders. The confederates were baffled, and forced, after a fruitless expedition of eight days, to commence a retreat. They were met near the Shannon by Roderic, and routed with great loss. Roderic's son was made prisoner, and was punished with the loss of his eyes.

The usual sequel of conquest is spoliation. The demesnes of the Irish kings and dynasts were liberally bestowed upon the Welsh and Norman adventurers. Desmond, or the kingdom of Cork, with the exception of the city itself, fell to the share of Cogan and Fitzstephen; and North Munster to Jocelin de Pomeroy and the brother of the Earl of Cornwall,—by whom, however, it was prudently declined, through fear of king Donald, their neighbour.

Fitzaldelm was superseded (1178) in the viceroyalty by Hugh de Lacy. His administration was not sufficiently characterized by rapine and injustice to be agreeable to his friends; the king, however, intrusted him with the custody of Wexford and of Leinster, whose heir, Isabel, only child of Strongbow, was still a minor. De Lacy was only a short time in power when he was removed, Henry's jealousy having been excited by his great popularity with all parties, and his marriage with Roderic's daughter, a contract for which he had not sought his master's sanction. But he was shortly after

* Or Miles. So, Murty is Murtagh. This variety of orthography can present little embarrassment.

restored, in consequence of his prompt obedience and a satisfactory explanation of his conduct.

The excellent Archbishop O'Toole died in 1180, while passing through France. Thoroughly patriotic, yet was he in great favour and esteem with Henry, for his piety and virtues. He was succeeded by John Cuming, an Englishman, appointed by Henry.

About this time Milo de Cogan was treacherously murdered by a chief. The moment this news reached Munster, its chiefs threw off the mask, and revolted. M'Carthy, king of Desmond, laid siege to Cork. The arrival of Raymond from Wexford, who brought a small force by sea, enabled Fitzstephen, the governor, to compel the assailants to retire. Milo's place was supplied by his brother, Richard, whom the king had associated with Fitzstephen in the government of Cork. The garrison was also strengthened by the arrival, with a considerable reinforcement from Wales, of Fitzstephen's nephew, Philip Barry, who was accompanied by his brother Gerald, commonly called Cambrensis, a priest, the celebrated slanderer of everything Irish.

In 1182 Roderic retired to the monastery of Cong, to escape from his family broils. Upon his accession to the throne of Tara, Roderic, according to usage, should have resigned Connaught to one of his sons; but shrewdly foreseeing that Tara would be an uncertain possession, he retained his hereditary territory. This possession his eldest son, Connor, disputed.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE ABDICATION OF RODERIC, 1182, TO THE DEATH OF
HENRY III. OF ENGLAND, 1272.

IN 1185, Henry sent over his son, John, as governor of Ireland. This governor was but twelve years old, but his father appointed him wise and prudent counsellors.

The transfer of the sovereignty to this prince was sanctioned also by a papal Bull: though the title of king had been conferred on him, in council, some time before, he used only that of "Lord of Ireland." Previously to his coming, Philip of Worcester had been sent in the room of De Lacy, whom Henry had summoned to England. Philip's administration created general dissatisfaction. De Lacy had distributed among his friends the demesne lands of the crown,—these the new deputy resumed for the use of the king's household. Philip had also interfered with De Courcy's doings in Ulster, where he had no other business but plunder or extortion. Philip had just returned from his Ulster campaign, when John landed at Waterford. There the great officers of state, and other English lords, waited on him. Several of the Leinster chiefs, who had adhered to their first submission, also appeared before him to testify their loyalty. Their peculiar manners and costume became subjects of derision for John and the young Norman nobles by whom he was surrounded. The insulted chieftains took their departure, to kindle in their countrymen those indignant and revengeful feelings which wounded pride and unmerited injury had engendered in themselves. The wanton insolence and indignity with which they had been treated, excited a general sympathy, and the chieftains on all sides vowed a sanguinary chastisement.

While the malcontents were actively preparing for a combined attack, John and his court passed their time in recklessness or dissipation. Neither vigilance nor vigour was displayed by the government. Their precautionary measures had extended only to the erection of three castles when the storm burst. Their strongholds were taken, their armies swept away, their leaders slain. They were successful only in Cork and in Meath. In Cork, Theobald Walter, ancestor of the earls of Ormond, on whom Henry, in 1170, had bestowed the high office of king's butler, foiled the attempt made on the city by the king of Desmond, who was slain with all his party. In Meath, William Petit routed the invading septs.

These were, however, only partial successes; the wide and furious rising nearly annihilated John's entire forces.

The prince was hastily recalled, and the reins put in the hands of De Lacy. John complained that De Lacy had thwarted his administration. Other charges were heaped upon him; he was accused of having assumed the title of king among his own retainers, of receiving tribute in that quality, and of causing a crown to be made for himself. The death of this great baron, by the hands of some obscure assassin, forestalled proceedings against him.

The deadly feuds amongst the dynasts of the North left them an easy prey to De Courcy, who soon found himself in a condition to try his prowess in Connaught, whither he had been invited by a native chieftain to help in dethroning Roderic's son. But the terrible battle-axe of Donald was still raised for independence. He came to the aid of O'Connor, and drove De Courcy from the province. O'Connor was murdered next year (1189), some of his own party having joined his rival in a conspiracy against him. The same year Henry II. died at Chinon, and was succeeded by his son Richard I.

On Richard's succession John removed De Courcy, and substituted the son of the late Hugh de Lacy. De Courcy withdrew to his northern possessions with no submissive or peaceable intentions. Richard's crusade also fanned the hopes of the Irish chieftains; a truce to internal discord and a combined rising were agreed on. The principal success obtained was by O'Brien, who destroyed the English army at Thurles. Feuds again broke out, with the perfidy and treachery which too often accompanied them. Wile and falsehood were marked features of these times throughout Europe; in Ireland they often wore the worst complexion. The kings of Thomond and Desmond had entered into a league, defensive and offensive, against the English. Donald violated its terms by allowing the English, after their defeat at Thurles, to build a fort within his territories for the harassing of his ally M'Carthy. Treachery and defection found disciples also

among the English, who were often seen opposed to each other in the Irish ranks.

Donald O'Brien died in 1194, and was succeeded by his son Murty, who also had practice with the English, having been the first to introduce them into Munster, 1177, to aid him against the Eugenians. Bloody strife having arisen amongst Donald's sons, the youngest, Car-bry, was set on the throne by the English.

The prince of Desmond, and O'Connor of the Bloody Hand, so called from the number of battles he fought, reduced several garrisons in Munster, and recovered Cork after a siege. Marshall, second earl of Pembroke, in consequence of these disasters, relinquished the deputyship to Hamon de Valois, who was soon after recalled for plundering the Church to recruit the royal treasury and his own coffers.

In the deputyship of his successor, Meyler, died Roderic O'Connor (1198), at the advanced age of 82, after a seclusion of sixteen years, during which period he was a melancholy witness of the deadly quarrels of his clan, the distraction and ruin of his country, and the rapine and tyranny of the Anglo-Norman adventurers. It is difficult to speak harshly of this unfortunate monarch. His sufferings almost blot out his errors, as, it is to be hoped, his repentance did his crimes. In civil and military affairs his abilities were barely above mediocrity. He was not without courage, but he wanted daring; his presence did not, like Donald's, awaken enthusiasm in his troops. There is no wiping away the disgrace of his submissions and of his treaty with Henry; the monarch who strives to secure his crown by his own vassalage, is a traitor to his people. Always satisfied with gaining a slight advantage, he never followed up his success; nay, he seemed to care little about it except as his own interests were concerned. Narrow and selfish views, combined with a want of perseverance and a vacillating disposition, ruined himself, and ruined his country. Such rulers usually involve their people in their own fall; and as the fallen are more frequently despised than

pitied, such too would be Roderic's fate, had he not been so long a melancholy spectator of his country's calamities, and so long an opponent of her foes. Weighing together his derelictions and misdeeds, his overwhelming sorrows and many struggles, in dearth of better men we are content to hear him praised as one of our heroes.

Roderic's brother Croivdeargh, and grandson Carrach,* disputed the succession to his throne; the latter supported by William de Burgh, of the Fitzaldelm family, the former by De Courcy and Walter de Lacy. De Burgh having been won over to the opposite side by large inducements, Croivdeargh succeeded; and his rival was slain. Croivdeargh voluntarily ceded two-thirds of his possessions to John, who was now king (1201), hoping thereby to enjoy the remainder in security, paying, as the sign of his vassalage, 100 marks annually.

On the subject of John's accession and the murder of his nephew, De Courcy spoke with such little reserve as to fall under the jealous king's displeasure. He was ordered to be seized and sent to England. Both of those commissions were executed with great satisfaction by his rival, Hugh de Lacy, the lord justice. Many romantic stories have been invented for De Courcy as their hero, but with little or no foundation in fact; his real fate is uncertain. On his decease, his title and property, as earl of Ulster, were bestowed on De Lacy.

In 1210 John landed in Ireland with a numerous army, and during his stay introduced many useful laws and regulations; among others, the division into counties or shires. Upon his arrival some of the powerful barons absconded, impelled perhaps by a dread of John's spirit of retribution, or the opportunity which their ra-

* In the first edition there was an error in this place. The correction "*Roderic's brother Croivdeargh, and grandson Carrach,*" was made by my dear friend, the late Professor O'Curry, who had the kindness to read every sheet of these "Outlines." I need scarcely say that a great deal of their minute accuracy is due to his friendly assistance. All the Irish names were corrected by him; and the English pronunciation at the end is by his own hand.

capacity afforded him of enriching himself with a show of justice. William de Breuse fled, leaving behind him his wife and son, who are said to have been subsequently starved to death by his order. The two De Lacys escaped to France, where they worked as labourers in the garden of the abbey of St. Taurin; upon paying a considerable fine in money, they were restored to their possessions at the intercession of the abbot, who had made the discovery of their former rank. The administration of John in Ireland was discreet, vigorous, just, and tranquillizing; no matter how contradictory to this conduct were his proceedings in England, there can be little doubt that it was owing to the impression which his prudence and justice made upon the Irish chieftains that they took no advantage of his troubles at home to give him any disquiet here. It must not be forgotten, however, that, by John's order, the archbishop of Dublin improved the good impression and their grateful feelings, by making presents to the Irish kings of pieces of scarlet cloth for robes; the adoption of which policy affords a clear insight into the condition of our royal houses. Even in the fifteenth century, O'Neill, prince of Ulster, got a present from the archbishop of Armagh of *six yards* of good cloth for his investiture, and *three* for his wife.

In 1209, three hundred of the citizens of Dublin, then mostly settlers from Bristol, were butchered by some lawless septs from Wicklow, who fell on them unexpectedly. This affair has been much dwelt on by writers who are insensible of the wickedness of fostering national antipathies, and who are pleased to forget that there are few nations which cannot be reproached with similar deeds.

Shortly after the accession of Henry III., the earl of Pembroke, lord protector, and lord of Leinster in right of his wife Isabel, took care to have Magna Charta extended to Ireland. There are some differences, which circumstances had rendered necessary, between the English and the Irish Charter. A *fac-simile* of the latter is exhibited in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

On the death of Pembroke in 1219, Hugh de Lacy disputed his son's right to some of his Irish patrimony.

The subjects of Cathal elected, at his death in 1223, his brother Turlogh as his successor. Henry, however, had previously granted the reversion of his territory to Richard de Burgh, in open violation of the arrangement entered into with John in 1219. De Marisco, the lord justice, attempted to enforce the grant; O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, gave his support to Turlogh; ultimately, after many encounters, Feidlim, a son of Cathal, succeeded to the sovereignty.

In 1234 the lord justice, De Burgh, the De Lacys, and other Irish barons, having received royal letters directing them to seize Richard, earl of Pembroke, who had been banished, in case he should land in Ireland, and promising, as a reward for such service, his confiscated possessions, forwarded him assurances of the support of a large body of adherents, and of themselves likewise. The young earl, who had been engaged in some confederacy against Richard, influenced by false representations and treacherous promises, came over with a few followers. He was waited on by Geoffrey de Marisco, the manager of the plot, who persuaded him to an immediate attack on the king's territories. After gaining some successes, his friends the barons affected to be alarmed for the safety of the government, and proposed a truce. The great plain or Curragh of Kildare was appointed for the conference; the young nobleman proceeded thither, accompanied by De Marisco and a few attendants. The conspirators, as had been concerted, provoked a conflict; De Marisco drew off his men, leaving Pembroke, with fifteen others, at the mercy of ten times the number. The earl, after a brave defence, was captured, and died a few days after of a wound received in the struggle. Of perfidy so black and complex there are but few instances on record.

In 1240 Henry granted an interview to Feidlim, king of Connaught, who on the occasion so successfully exposed the wholesale plunder and oppressions of De Burgh,

that the lord justice, Fitzgerald, was ordered to pluck him up by the roots. The Irish prince and the deputy afterwards led a combined body of troops into Wales, with whose conduct during the campaign Henry was highly pleased. The deputy, however, having been somewhat tardy in his preparations, in consequence, perhaps, of the acknowledged exemption of the Irish barons from *foreign* service, was removed from his government, and Fitz-Geoffrey de Marisco chosen in his place. Disregard of law and justice was manifested at a very early period by the ruling powers in Ireland. In the thirtieth year of Henry's reign the charter and laws of John had so fallen into disuse, and so determined was the opposition of the barons to any code but their own will, and to any definitions of civil rights which could interfere with that will, that Henry had to request they would "permit" the kingdom to be governed by English law. It was not, however, contemplated to extend the benefit of this law to the Irish. This civic exclusion begat *ecclesiastical* reaction in another quarter. The Irish hierarchy and clergy decreed in synod (1250), that no born Englishman should be admitted a canon in any of their churches; but the king procured a Bull from the pope nullifying the decree.

In this reign the military resources of Ireland were called more than once to the aid of the English crown. Donald, king of Tyrconnell, and twenty great chiefs, were summoned by writ to join Henry with their forces in an expedition against Scotland. When Gascony was threatened by the king of Castile, he issued writs to the lord justice to proceed thither with *all his friends*.

There are some grounds for believing that, in 1255, Prince Edward, to whom and his heirs, his royal father had granted, the year before, the kingdom of Ireland, with certain reservations in favour of his own authority, and with a proviso against separation, visited this country.

In 1259 the ever-fighting O'Neill, with 350 followers, fell in an encounter with the lord deputy, in the streets of Down. During this year the M'Carthys, who had

been despoiled of the greater part of Desmond by various grants made to the Geraldines, attacked the intruders at Callan, and slew several barons and knights. After this exploit the Geraldines durst not put a plough into the land of Desmond ; but, as usual, dissension soon changed the relations between the contending parties. This incurable Irish infection began to spread among their English masters. A deadly animosity subsisted between the powerful families of the Geraldines and the De Burghs, which often broke out into open violence. Maurice Fitz-Gerald and John Fitz-Thomas, afterwards earl of Kildare, seized (1264) De Capella, the lord justice, Richard de Burgh, heir-apparent of the earldom of Ulster, Theobald le Butler, and other personages of the De Burgh party. The prisoners were set at liberty by advice of a council held at Kilkenny ; and David Barry, founder of the noble house of Barrymore, was appointed deputy, who proved to be a stringent check on the Geraldines, and who established peace among those ambitious and turbulent houses.

In 1270, Sir James Audley being deputy, the Irish made one of their most desperate and general efforts ; they burned, wasted, and slaughtered in all directions ; the fortified places in Offaly were razed, and the earl of Ulster was routed by the prince of Connaught, who slew many of his knights and nobles. All this destruction, however, was a mere burst of frenzied vengeance, not the most promising step in a well-concerted series of operations, prompted by national views, and directed by national wisdom. Their ignorance of the use of the cross-bow, and their inability to conduct a regular campaign, foiled all the early struggles of the natives.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM EDWARD I., A. D. 1272, TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD
BRUCE, A. D. 1318.

THE Irish, in the first year of the reign of Edward I., dismantled some castles in Roscommon and Sligo, and made the deputy, Fitzmaurice, prisoner. They petitioned the king to extend to them the laws and usages of England. From such a measure they hoped security for their persons and properties; and for this simple reason the dominant party for ages put obstruction in the way of its execution.

In 1277 the succession to Thomond was disputed among the O'Briens. Thomas de Clare, son of the earl of Gloucester, who had obtained a grant of lands there, and who determined to profit by the contention, sided with Brien Ruadh or Roe, against his nephew, Tirlogh. De Clare led an army against the latter, but was discomfited. His brother-in-law, Fitzmaurice, heir of Kerry, fell in the engagement; and De Clare avenged his death on his ally and sworn friend, the innocent Roe O'Brien, by a treacherous and revolting murder perpetrated by De Clare's son, at the instigation of Fitzmaurice's wife and father-in-law. The unprincipled son of his victim subsequently accepted his alliance against the usurper Tirlogh, who, after suffering a defeat, made a circuit through defiles, and, falling on the enemies' rear, obtained a decisive victory, which was followed by the cession of half of Tirlogh's kingdom. About the same time the king of Connaught, with 2000 men, were slain, in a feud with one of his royal neighbours. Edward remonstrated with the deputy for permitting such disorders; but Ufford, in reply, represented the convenience of "letting rebels murder one another."

In 1280 the king and council took into consideration the prayer of the Irish for the English laws, which, according to the prevailing custom of purchasing boons

from the Crown, was backed with a promise of 8000 marks. It was at last determined to be granted, provided there was no opposition on the part of the Irish prelates and nobles. Edward addressed an urgent letter to the deputy, directing the matter to be immediately laid before the lords spiritual and temporal; but it does not appear that the mandate excited any attention, and the measure was thrown aside. Some favoured *individuals*, however, obtained *licenses* to live under British law and jurisdiction.

The head of the De Burgh party, Richard, the Red Earl, acquired immense preponderancy of power by the death of Fitzmaurice and of Thomas de Clare, slain in an encounter with the O'Briens, in 1287. He attempted to seize the lands of De Verdon, in Meath, which he held in right of his mother, a De Lacy.

In 1290 Lord William de Vesey was appointed lord justice. Jealousy sprung between him and John Fitzgerald, baron of Offaly. The parties appeared before the king, charged one another with treason, and mutually indulged in acrimonious reproaches. The altercation was brought to a conclusion by Fitzgerald challenging the combat. The challenge was accepted; but when the day arrived, De Vesey disappointed the assembled multitude, having previously escaped to France. His lands were in consequence bestowed on his more courageous rival.

On his return to Ireland, his first use of power was the seizure and imprisonment of the earl of Ulster and his brother. He then proceeded to Kildare, the castle of which had been taken by the brother of the king of Offaly. The Geraldines and De Burghs agreed to a truce of two years, at the instance of the lord justice Wogan.

During this reign the third estate was regularly adopted as an integral part of the parliament; but as yet in Ireland materials for such an improvement could not be collected together. A sort of parliament, serving as the germ of something more mature and better furnished,

was held here in 1295, which was little more than an assemblage of peers and ecclesiastics, with a few of their retainers. They passed some useful ordinances; among others a prohibition of the military and predatory undertakings of the barons without the license of the king or his deputy; the imposition of a tax upon absentees for the maintenance of a sufficient military force; and the forfeiture of the lands of such marchers as left their borders undefended.

Edward was at Roxborough (1299), when the deputy Wogan joined him in his Scottish expedition; and how well he was served by his Irish and Welsh subjects, may be learned from the fact that they composed the bulk of his invading army of 8000 horse and 80,000 foot, a compliment to the prowess of Scotland which was never paid to us.

The conclusion of this reign is memorable in Ireland for a mixture of English and Irish murders that disgrace the page of history, and forbid detail. The king of Offaly and O'Brien of Thomond were murdered (1305); the king of Desmond fell by the hands of his own son; the seneschal of Waterford met the same fate; a wholesale havoc was carried on with mutual ferocity among the O'Dempseys, O'Connors, and O'Regans. An extraordinary execution took place in Dublin in 1307—that of an English knight for the murder of an Irishman.

In the year 1312 all the Knights Templars in England and Ireland were apprehended on the same day, by order of Edward, who acted under the influence of the pope and of Philip le Bel, the head of the conspiracy against their order. Their possessions in Ireland were bestowed on the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, long established at Kilmainham.

Gaveston, whom Edward II. had recalled from banishment, and whom the parliament had again condemned to exile, was sent over to Ireland as lieutenant by his royal patron. Notwithstanding his levity, the favourite was not devoid of talents: his Irish administration was marked by activity against the native chiefs, and the con-

struction of several useful public edifices. Upon his recall by his master, he was succeeded by Wogan, who had thrice before filled the office. Whilst deputy, he held a parliament in Kilkenny. In 1311, Richard de Clare defeated the earl of Ulster in an attack on Bunnahally castle, which was founded by Thomas de Clare. Donough O'Brien was assassinated by some of his own people.

Upon the breaking of the truce (1309) between Edward and the Scottish king, in negotiating which, De Burgh, earl of Ulster, had his part, Edward invited the Irish chiefs to his aid. The call was vain. The Irish, in the prevailing spirit of legislation, were not included within the law, but excluded from it: the murder of an Irishman was not a felony, the violation of an Irishwoman not even an assault. In a record cited by Davis (4 Edw. II.), the murderer confesses the act, but pleads as a defence that his victim was a pure Hibernian. "*Bene cognovit quod prædictum Johannem interfecit, dicit tamen quòd per ejus interfectionem feloniam committere non poterit quòd prædictus Johannes fuit purus Hibernicus.*"

The Irish rejoiced in the difficulties of their oppressors, and felt a deep sympathy for the Scots, a kindred people, threatened with all the calamities of that subjugation under which they themselves pined. When Robert the Bruce fled, after his coronation, to the island of Rathlin, off the coast of Antrim, in 1306, the northern Irish supplied him with 700 men to aid him in the recovery of his kingdom. After the glorious victory at Bannockburn, the Irish, by their deputies, entreated him to come over to liberate them, or at least to send them his brother Edward as king. Accordingly, Edward landed at Larne, in the county of Antrim, with an army of 6000 men, on the 25th day of May, 1315. The Irish flocked to his standard in great numbers. He overran Ulster. The English lords, astounded by the fierce onset of the enemy, and divided among themselves, were unable to withstand his rapid career.

De Burgh alone made vigorous exertion. He was joined by Feidlim O'Connor, the only chief who complied with the king's writ. Bruce, after his coronation at Dundalk, had withdrawn to the north, and was awaiting supplies from Scotland, when De Burgh came up with him. The brave earl was defeated, and his brother William slain. Feidlim's absence and defeat gave a fresh opportunity to the spirit of usurpation and perfidy which so long characterized his house, and enfeebled his kingdom and his country. His kinsman, Roderic, compelled most of the septs to submit; but Feidlim returned from the north, and had yet sufficient influence to collect a force, which reinstated him by the defeat and death of the usurper. Feidlim subsequently joined Bruce.

Revolt was now the order of the day; Bruce's successes in the north encouraged it in every direction; even some of the great lords, and many of the English people, became infected. Bruce besieged Carrickfergus; marched into Meath, and encountered Roger Mortimer, the deputy, whom he defeated by the treachery of the De Lacys. Advancing into Kildare, he overthrew the lord justice Butler, and several of the lords of Leinster and Munster. Butler, however, discomfited a rising of the O'Tooles and Byrnes of Wicklow, and returned to Dublin with eighty of their heads as a trophy. Being unable to cope with Bruce, who now kept his court in the north, quietly acting the king, as if he had nothing more to do or to fear, the lord justice followed up his advantages over the Wicklow septs till they were completely subdued. Butler, as a reward for his services, was created earl of Carrick; the title of earl of Kildare was conferred on John Fitzgerald, baron of Offaly. But the government of Ireland had too many enemies to contend with to have it in their power to concentrate their forces. Of the hostile septs, the most formidable were those of Connaught, led by the young and valiant Feidlim, who now atoned for his former backsliding by indomitable energy and daring enterprises. Feidlim was at the head of a large army, which threatened the annihilation of English sway,

when William de Burgh and Richard de Bermingham resolved on mustering every disposable force, and coming to a decisive engagement with him. A great battle ensued, the best fought, and the most important, since the invasion. The commanders were worthy of one another, and the conduct of the troops was not unworthy of their commanders. The mounted knights, and the mail-clad warriors of England, reeled and retreated more than once before the assaults of the impetuous clans. Their strength and bravery were nearly exhausted, and their bravest leaders slain; but the gallant example of the survivors reanimated the courage of their men. De Burgh led,—rallied,—fought over the whole field. His prowess was everywhere displayed; his heroic glow communicated itself to every soldier. It was a scene that he was eminently fit for, and a day such as he coveted. His bold and impassioned genius was admirably supported by the prudent and resolute Bermingham, who restored stability wherever he turned, and whose prompt resources supplied every need. On the other hand, the Irish troops showed themselves thoroughly impressed with the greatness of this occasion, and determined to wipe away the stain of so many previous disasters. Vengeance inflamed their characteristic hate and fury; but shame for the past, and aspirations for the future,—and, above all, a sense of the fatal crisis,—gave them force, firmness, and fortitude, totally unknown to them before. Wave after wave, they precipitated themselves upon the foe, who withstood them like marshalled cliffs along the sea-shore, and beat them back again and again. This moment they recoiled; the next they hurried forward with a vehemence which spread havoc before it. Thrice they broke the adverse lines, which superior discipline soon knitted together again. In their repeated assaults upon the iron ranks opposed to them, they suffered dreadful carnage. The English troops rarely advanced; but when they did, Feidlim's rapid rushings from post to post, always accompanied by brilliant achievements, resembled successive flashes of lightning. The battle raged for several

hours with unabated fury. With such commanders and such combatants, victory must be often in doubt on which party to shed her laurels. At length the fortune of the English arms prevailed. The prince of Connaught fell, and 8000 of his brethren in arms consecrated by their death, their conduct, and their cause, the field of Athenry.

Edward Bruce was more than a year in Ireland, when his brother, Robert, king of Scotland, came over to help him to reap some real advantages by the success which had hitherto attended his experiment. Activity was resumed. Carrickfergus, whose garrison had so long endured privations, and was now reduced to the extremity of eating the dead bodies of eight Scottish prisoners, surrendered to the royal brothers. After experiencing a slight rebuff, Robert was resolved on making a grand effort. With this view he collected 20,000 men, exclusive of his Ulster allies, and marched towards Dublin, wasting and burning as he went along. He fixed his head-quarters at Castleknock, having made Tyrrell, the lord of the castle, prisoner. Whilst Bruce was here, the earl of Ulster was seized and committed to Dublin castle, on suspicion of having a treasonable understanding with him. This suspicion had its origin, perhaps, in the mere fact of Robert having married one of the earl's daughters in 1302. Bruce, not deeming it prudent to lay siege to Dublin, as he had intended, proceeded to Leixlip, where he stayed four days; "nor,"—says the amiable Moore, with a soul and a mind fresh, sparkling, and Irish, like the scene he speaks of,—“nor is it a slight addition to the interest of that romantic spot to be able to fancy that the heroic Bruce, surrounded by his companions in arms, had once stood beside its beautiful waterfall, and wandered perhaps through its green glen.”

Passing through Naas (1317) and the county of Kilkenny, he laid waste the country as far as Limerick, where he may have desired to establish himself for the purpose of having the command of the South and the

West, and maintaining a rendezvous for the chiefs of those parts. But the want of provisions foiled all his plans, and embarrassed every movement. This scarcity was greatly increased by the barbarous system of laying waste which characterizes the warfare of those times. Multitudes of Robert's troops died of hunger, while horse-flesh was the chief sustenance of the remainder. In his desolate marches, whether chosen by design or imposed by necessity, he was conducted by the perjured Walter de Lacy, who, to clear himself from some suspicions, had a little before renewed his oath of fealty, solemnizing it by the sacramental rite. His difficulties compelled him to retreat, and he reappeared in Ulster early in May, with an army thinned and enfeebled by privations and hardships. Here Bruce thought fit to abandon the enterprise, and devolve its delusions and hazards upon his sanguine and ambitious brother. It is impossible to determine the exact circumstances which influenced him in taking this step. It was not, certainly, any obstruction put in his way by the English rulers. During the entire of his progress, they had ready an army of 30,000 men, which they kept inactive. He found, perhaps, an unpromising degree of impracticability in the materials presented to him for his purposes; for he was not a man likely to quit the ship as long as the planks showed any disposition to keep together. It is hard to explain in any other way, why a leader of such courage and capacity so easily relinquished so great a prize.

The earl of Ulster, whom we have seen imprisoned, was set at large by a parliament held at Kilmainham (1317). He had been previously pronounced free by the law; but the mayor of Dublin illegally continued his confinement, and refused giving him up till he had given hostages for his good behaviour, and taken an oath of allegiance on the sacrament.

This year the De Lacys, whose hostility had given much uneasiness and offence to the Irish government, were driven from their possessions into Connaught, and

outlawed by the lord justice, Sir Roger Mortimer, afterwards earl of March. John de Lacy, who had been taken prisoner, was subsequently pressed to death, by Mortimer's orders, for refusing to plead to an indictment against him.

To the horrors of fire and sword, of open slaughter, and treacherous assassination, ever kept alive by the perverse and infatuated chieftains, and which now raged in Connaught, their favourite scene, succeeded a famine, which forced the hungry to tear the dead out of their graves and devour them, and even mothers to appease their own cravings by the flesh of their children. The early and abundant harvest of the following year, 1318, put an end to the inflictions and consequences of privation.

Edward Bruce once more took the field with 3000 men, and posted himself at the Faughard, a remarkable mound near Dundalk, about seventy feet high, and surrounded by a deep trench. The command of his troops was divided amongst several Scottish lords, and the three De Lacys. Against these marched Lord John Bermingham, Tuite, Verdon, and Maupas. The array of battle being completed on both sides, Maupas, who was persuaded that Bruce's death would immediately decide the contest, rushed among the enemy to accomplish his object. The first onset decided the victory; and after the battle, the body of the king was discovered, with that of the devoted Maupas stretched across it. The brutal victors exhibited the quarters of Bruce's body all over the country. Bermingham sent the head to King Edward, who showed how much the favour was appreciated by rewarding the donor with the earldom of Louth, and, as usual, some fair acres, which were always at hand in Ireland on such occasions.

Of these momentous transactions it could not be supposed that the native clergy were passive spectators. Most of them felt a warm interest in Bruce's cause, and many not only gave it their countenance but their aid. Even some of the Anglo-Irish ecclesiastics sympathized

with King Edward; among others, the bishop of Ferns, who was accused of supplying him with men and munitions. To check this disloyal interference, the English king procured the assistance of Pope Innocent XXII., who, by letter, empowered the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel to excommunicate such of the clergy as should be guilty of it. This exercise of authority surprised and exasperated the Irish princes, who, from the ancient fame of their country for sanctity and learning, had reason to expect very different treatment. In answer to the pope's letter, O'Neill of Tyrone drew up a spirited and eloquent remonstrance on behalf of himself, and as representative of his brother chiefs and of the Irish nation.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDWARD III. A. D. 1327 TO 1377.

IN the beginning of Edward the Third's reign, a violent feud arose, which involved all the branches of the Desmonds, Butlers, and Berminghams, on one side, and the Poers and the De Burghs on the other. It is said to have been occasioned by Lord Arnold Poer having derided Maurice Fitz Thomas, afterwards earl of Desmond, as "a rhymer." As usual, the parties took the field. The Poers and De Burghs suffered severely, both by the slaughter of many members of their families and the devastation of their properties. The deputy Kildare vainly attempted to mediate. Meantime, Edward, having been informed of their excesses, issued mandates directing both sides to submit immediately to the lord justice. The confederates anticipated the mandate by sending an envoy to deny that they had ever intended any injury to the king, or his cities, and to declare their readiness to appear before the deputy at Kilkenny. This they accordingly did, but the terms of peace which they

sued for were withheld by the council, as needing further consideration. At the close of the year, Poer and De Burgh returned from England; and a truce was effected between them and their late adversaries by the intervention of Roger Outlaw, prior of Kilmainham, and lord chancellor, who succeeded the earl of Kildare as lord justice.

In the second year of Edward's reign (1329) the native Irish again petitioned the Crown for the use of English law, without qualifying themselves by the purchase of charters of denization. The king recommended the prayer to the attention of the lord justice; but, as on a former occasion, the matter was allowed to die away, and was never revived during this long reign. By the use of the English law, the rights and titles of the Irish to their possessions and properties would be secured legal recognition in the king's courts; but as such recognition could not fail of obstructing and often defeating lawless rapine, forcible possession, and the sundry nefarious frauds by which the natives were wronged and despoiled, the great lords of the Pale always arrayed themselves against any measure that at all seemed to lead to it. Rapine and violence had enriched them. To acknowledge the rights of property in the Irish would be no less than putting a virtual end to that impunity they long enjoyed; and the barons—who would not allow them to have a right to any thing in their possession, since they could show neither leases nor grants (muniments they never needed, and as yet but little understood)—those unprincipled and insatiable men were determined to preserve that impunity as long as possible, and consequently conspired to defeat every effort of the Irish people to get under the protection of the British law.

During this year two massacres of the English were perpetrated by English hands. Lord Philip Bodnet, and 140 others, were perfidiously slaughtered by the Barrys and Roches of Fermoy. The earl of Louth, Talbot of Malahide, and 160 more, fell by the Savages and Gernons. This was a bad season for such carnage; for the

Irish enemy was in the field, and everywhere successful. M'Geoghegan of Westmeath defeated Lord Thomas Butler. In Kildare Sir Simon Genevil was vanquished. Brien O'Brien burned Tipperary and Athassel.

In this state of things Maurice Fitz Thomas, who had been lately created earl of Desmond, and been granted Kerry, with all the regalities, as a palatinate, took up arms for his benefactors at the head of 10,000 men, with the O'Briens for his allies. He attacked the lately victorious septs of Leinster. The earls of Ulster and Ormonde were likewise victorious in Meath. But O'Brien was still unconquered; and a parliament was held at Kilkenny to concert measures against this able chief. All the peers present contributed to the levy. The combined forces directed their march towards Limerick. While on their way, the De Burghs who composed part of the expedition, plundered the lands of the Desmonds as they passed through them, and thus revived the violent feud which had so long subsisted, to the enfeebling of both parties, and the constant embarrassment and danger of the Irish government. Sir John D'Arcy, the lord justice, seeing no other effectual mode of stopping hostilities, had recourse to the vigorous proceeding of committing to the custody of the marshal of Limerick, Maurice, earl of Desmond, and the earl of Ulster, the heads of the two wrathful factions.

The earl of Ulster was appointed by the king's writ lord lieutenant, in the year 1331, and Sir Anthony Lucy was sent over as lord justice; he was accompanied by Lord Hugh de Lacy, who had obtained a pardon. Lucy, under the influence of strong suspicions, which in some instances appear to have been well founded, had Lord Henry Mandeville, the earl of Desmond, and others, arrested. Some of these had manifested a disaffected spirit by refusing to attend the parliaments summoned at Dublin and Kilkenny to meet the lord justice. The earl of Kildare, with other lords, absented themselves from that held in Dublin; but having made their appearance at Kilkenny, whither the parliament had been

called, for the purpose of giving an opportunity for a better attendance than could be obtained in the capital, they were, after swearing allegiance and peace, freely pardoned. After an imprisonment of eighteen months, Desmond was released. Lord William Bermingham was the only individual who suffered any severe penalty. He was executed at Dublin, in 1332.

Lucy's arrival was followed by that of a royal ordinance, having for its object the accomplishment of that most desirable reform, "that *one and the same law* be observed to the Irish and the English." There is no doubt but the sound policy of incorporating the Irish as subjects, instead of excluding them as aliens, branded as enemies, and always so goaded that they could not but feel themselves such, even when they did not wish it, began to be felt by those who conducted the affairs of England. Their views, however, were thwarted by the contrary policy and the paramount powers of the Irish magnates. The ordinances proved abortive.

One of them related to the evil of absenteeism, which was of no more avail than the rest. This evil was subsequently aimed at by the summons of the king (1332), directed to the earl of Norfolk and twenty-two other English absentee lords and gentlemen, requiring them to attend him in Ireland, and *recover* their possessions out of the hands of the *rebels*. But no result followed, as the king had no intention of visiting Ireland, merely using the pretence to conceal the real destination of the numerous forces which he had been levying to pour upon Scotland.

The death of the third earl of Ulster, who was murdered by his own servants, led to events entirely unexpected. This atrocity was perpetrated in May, 1333, when the earl was in his twenty-second year. His estates devolved on a daughter, his only child, who, twenty years after, was married to Lionel, the king's third son. The heads of the family resolved to seize on her inheritance, lest by her marriage it should become a stranger's. Sir Ulick de Burgh and Sir William Al-

banach entered into an amicable arrangement, and divided the vast possessions between them. These confederates were respectively the ancestors of the earls of Clanrickard and of Mayo. To ingratiate themselves with the people, to whom now they looked for support of their usurpation, they renounced the English dress and language, and assumed Irish names,—the former M'William Eighth, or the *Lower*, the latter M'William Oughter, or the *Upper*. In Munster, many branches of the Geraldines changed their names in the same way, and in other parts similar devices were adopted to cajole a people whose national vanity is too sensible of flattery.

The year 1339 was signalized by a general rising of the Irish. In Kerry, the earl of Desmond defeated the natives with a loss of 1200 men, and seized in the Irish ranks Maurice, fourth lord of Kerry, whom he threw into prison, where he died. The earl of Kildare hunted down the O'Dempseys of Leinster. Such transactions are the disgrace, and yet for centuries are almost the current, of Irish history.

The destruction of the power of the Anglo-Irish lords, worthy successors of the old dynasts, became now a leading feature of the policy of the English cabinet. Already had nearly the whole country been parcelled out among them, about ten in number. They exercised all the privileges of royalty, except mercy; they appointed sheriffs and other officers, like the king in Dublin or Westminster; and held courts and took cognizance of pleas after the same royal fashion; they warred upon each other in contempt of the king's peace, and often, when vexed, bade defiance to the king himself. This was an anomalous, mischievous state of things, and the king and his ministers bethought themselves of putting an end to it.

The work began under Sir John Morris, who came as lord justice in 1341. The mode of proceeding was bold and summary. All the lands, liberties, seignories, &c., granted by himself and his predecessors, were declared to be resumed by Edward; the remitted and suspended crown debts of this or any former reign were ordered to

be paid in or levied,—a harsh proceeding which was excused by setting forth the king's want of money for the French wars. Another step in the forced march of reform was the correction of various official abuses. In this case the real object was the supplanting of the Anglo-Irish functionaries by pure English; a convincing proof of which is, with a startling obtrusiveness, presented to us by another ordinance addressed in 1342 to Sir John D'Arcy, wherein the king declared that "whereas he would be better and more usefully served in Ireland by English officers having revenues and possessions in England, than by Irish, or English married or possessing estates only in Ireland, he therefore ordered that his justiciary, after diligent inquiries, should remove all such officers as were married and held estates in Ireland, and replace them by fit Englishmen having lands, tenements, and benefices in England." The only effect of this ordinance was to excite the indignation of the descendants of the adventurous conquerors of Ireland at the insolence and ingratitude with which they were so recklessly treated; for the power and spirit of the old settlers, as those descendants were called, were far too great to allow the proposed measure to become operative to any considerable degree. To such a pitch had the excitement produced by it arrived, that it was found necessary to call a parliament. Desmond and his party, supported by some cities and corporations, refused to attend the justiciary's, and called a parliament of their own at Kilkenny. This convention drew up, as the act of the prelates, earls, barons, and commons of Ireland, a spirited petition to the king, in which they very gravely complained of the encroachments of the Irish, who had, under favour of the troubles of the former reign, in some instances partially succeeded in recovering their ancient patrimonies. These encroachments they attribute to the misconduct of the king's ministers, especially the officers of his exchequer, who had delayed or embezzled the pay of the constables and wardens of the fortresses which had been the protection of their conquests, but which were

now in the hands of the Irish. They protest loudly against the announced revocation of the royal grants, franchises, and remission of debts, not only as an ill reward of the services of their forefathers in Ireland, Scotland, and Gascony, but as ungracious, unreasonable, and unjust; and accordingly they pray that they may not be ousted of their freehold without being called to judgment as *Magna Charta* wills it. ("Que eux ne soient ostoez de leur franc tenementz sanz estre appelé en jugement, come la Grande Chartre voet.") The receipt of this petition was graciously acknowledged, but of the answer transmitted to the chancellor March nothing is known.

Desmond again, in 1343, refused attending a parliament held at Dublin by Sir Ralph Ufford, who had married the countess dowager of Ulster. A convention of his own, to be holden at Callan, was a failure, in consequence of the prohibition issued by the absolute deputy, who seized on the earl's lands and farmed them out for the king's advantage. Finding himself thus pressed, the haughty earl surrendered; but the earls of Ormonde and Ulster, with twenty-four knights, entered into bail for him, and he was suffered to stand out. Not appearing, however, when called upon, his default was visited on eighteen of the knights, whose estates were seized as estreated recognizances. His conduct can scarcely be excused, but may be accounted for upon the supposition that he entertained fears for his life, which, indeed, cannot be otherwise regarded than reasonable enough, when we take into consideration the stern and cruel character of the deputy, and the late illustration of it in his hanging three knights upon a charge of exacting coyne and livery (entertainment for soldiers and their horses). Through the mediation of Sir William Bermingham, who was justice the following year, he was allowed to plead his cause before the king, and then obtained the restoration of the knights' estates.

Ufford was resolved to break the spirit, and ruin the power, of the great Anglo-Irish lords; nor did honour nor justice trouble him with any scruples as to the means by

which he could accomplish his purposes. His capture of the earl of Kildare is a striking example of his policy, and his utter destitution of principle. He sent Sir William Burton into Munster with a royal summons directing the earl to join the forces, and a secret warrant to seize him. The retainers of Kildare flocked to the royal standard with such alacrity when he published the warrant, that Burton deemed it dangerous to attempt executing it. Gifted, like his employer, with a talent for treachery, he induced the unsuspecting earl to stay the muster till he had an interview with the council, and to accompany him to Dublin for that purpose. They were before the council in the act of consultation, when Kildare, to his amazement and indignation, was suddenly arrested and thrown into prison, from which after a year's incarceration he was released on bail. Ufford earned for himself universal odium. His administration ended with his life, in 1346.

The earl of Desmond was appointed deputy for life, 1355, but he survived this extraordinary proof of royal favour only five months. He was buried in Tralee. During Rokeby, his successor's rule, one of those unprofitable insults, in which so many subsequent governments delighted to indulge, was offered to the native population: intermarriage and fostering of English with Irish were forbidden by royal ordinance.

Insults of this nature were abundantly lavished during the administration of James, earl of Ormonde, grandson of Edward I. A royal mandate was issued, declaring that no "mere Irishman" was eligible to *any office* in the towns under the English dominion; or admissible to holy orders or into any ecclesiastical preferment.

It was all well while the "mere Irish" were the objects of this exclusive policy; but as a portion of the spirit which dictated it was kept in reserve for the Anglo-Irish or old settlers, so when these were made to feel it, indignation was considered a virtue, and resistance a duty; while, on the other hand, the least murmur or complaint on the part of the Irish was sure to be stigmatized as rebellion.

About twenty years previous to this period (1361) an attempt was made, as we have seen, to shake off the lords of the Pale,—in fact, to exclude all the Anglo-Irish from offices of honour, trust, or profit. The English cabinet thinking, perhaps, that heretofore the beginning was made at the wrong end, now resolved upon dispensing with the services of their retainers in the hazardous office of carnage. The duke of Clarence and earl of Ulster, Edward's third son, proclaimed, as soon as he had assumed the Irish government, that none of the old English inhabitants should join his army, or even come near his camp. This was an intelligible proceeding—it was a clear superannuation of the "old English" altogether; for though Ormonde and other magnates were still in situation, yet, coupling the renunciation of the lower classes with the previous rejection of the higher, it is evident that the English ministers had a fixed intention of dispensing with Irish functionaries, high and low; nay, before Lionel's departure from England, the design of throwing them aside, and of employing others, was made manifest by a proclamation, in which he directed that all who held lands in Ireland should repair thither with all the forces they could raise. But Lionel soon felt the disastrous consequences of this preference, and discovered the erroneous calculations which led to its adoption. He marched against O'Brien of Thomond, whose sword disdained its scabbard, and lost a great part of his army. Without knowledge of the country, without guides, without the Anglo-Irish veterans, what else could be his fate? Defeat opened his eyes to the fatuity which possessed the advisers of the discarding proclamations. There was no alternative but recantation; and accordingly the royal duke put forth a proclamation bluntly summoning the "old English" to his standard. There was no time for pettishness or altercation; too much had been lost, and too much was at stake: the Anglo-Irish unhesitatingly obeyed the duke's summons.

A new campaign was opened against O'Brien, in which *the allies* were signally prosperous. The total dispersion

of the Munster enemy was a great cause of thankfulness to the duke, who recompensed with the honour of knighthood both Trojan and Tyrian merit. But no merit could save the Anglo-Irish and the natives from the steady, though sometimes lurking, operation of that spirit of distrust or disdain which for ages perverted English counsels. By the statute of Kilkenny, passed in the parliament held there in 1367, during Lionel's third administration, it was enacted that fostering and gossiping with the natives should be punished as high treason; and that the adoption of an Irish name, the use of the Irish language, dress, or customs, by any of English descent, should be visited with forfeiture of lands and tenements; at the same time the statute prohibited the English from making war at will upon the natives, and from allowing the cattle of the Irish to graze on their lands. It is clear that those enactments were aimed at both parties; at the Irish directly, at the Anglo-Irish indirectly: but it is unnecessary to examine at length into the motives which suggested them, or the social and political changes which they were intended to bring about; it will be sufficient to observe, that the king and his ministers, by a seeming preference of one party, established such distinctions between both parties, as could not fail of producing their natural consequences,—animosity, strife, weakness.

A temporary calm followed this statute; its boldness struck awe, and resistance was wearied in spirit and exhausted in resources. The Leinster septs, however, with their old wrongs and new grievances, took the field in 1369, but were worsted by De Windsor, the lord lieutenant. Revolt appeared about the same time in Munster, where O'Brien mastered the earl of Desmond, who was slain in the encounter, and made the lord of Kerry, and other distinguished personages, prisoners. The sudden appearance of De Windsor in the south quelled the disturbance.

The deplorable condition of Ireland at this period (1374) may be conceived from a few facts. After all the

war and spoil, the whole extent of British territory in Ireland included only the *four shires of the Pale*. The revenue of the whole kingdom amounted to but £10,000 a year; and such was the dreary desolation spread over the face of the country, such the fears of massacre, and the necessary precautions to avoid it, that De Windsor confesses he had never, during the whole of his service in Ireland, been able to get access to the natives, or to discover their abodes. Their wretched retreats were cold caves, holes scraped out of the earth, the thick woods, the wild glens, the impassable mountains. Such are the evils which almost always have marked the progress of conquest in every age and country. The great misfortune for Ireland is, that she alone, of all other nations, broods with a sort of malignant affection over past wrongs; but it must be confessed that this love of agony and exasperation has been fostered by the narrow and mistaken views of legislators, who made the present an index, rather than an erasure, of the past.

CHAPTER IX.


RICHARD II., A. D. 1377, TO RICHARD III., A. D. 1483.

RICHARD, son of the Black Prince, succeeded Edward III. in 1377, at the age of eleven years. A petition was transmitted from Ireland against the evil of absenteeism; by an act passed in compliance therewith, it was decreed that all who did not repair to their lands in Ireland, for their defence, &c., and could not show just cause for their absence, should contribute two-thirds of the revenues of such lands for their defence and care; and that, for the same purpose, one-third should be contributed by such as had license of absence under the *great seal of England*, and by those also who enjoyed privilege of absence under the act, such as persons in the king's service, students, &c.

Lionel's son, Edmond, earl of March and Ulster, died in the second year of his Irish administration, in 1381; in the following year Edmond's son, Roger Mortimer, a minor, was appointed lord lieutenant, under the guardianship of his uncle Thomas. Courtney, cousin of the king, was sent over as lieutenant in 1383; arrested, and punished for exactions on Dublin. He had received a patent of office for ten years. Such were the ordinary vicissitudes of Irish greatness in those times.

In 1385 the *sovereignty* of the island was granted for ten years to Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, whom Richard created marquis of Dublin and duke of Ireland. The parliament, according to the well-known effects of a divided responsibility, sanctioned this illegal grant to the favourite, whom they furnished with an outfit of 30,000 marks, 500 men-at-arms, and 1000 archers. De Vere, however, was detained by his loving master, who sent in his stead Sir John Stanley. The third earl of Ormonde succeeded Stanley in 1392. The law against absentees was revived: the crowds of Irish landlords in England had nearly depopulated the Pale; so wild and convulsed was the state of the population in Ireland, that nothing could induce the proprietors to abide there.

In 1394 Richard himself landed at Waterford with 4000 men-at-arms, and 30,000 archers, determined on completing the conquest, in which, as yet, we find that very little real progress had been made. The terrified natives fled to their inscrutable caves and fastnesses; but the chieftains, upon hearing that the king would graciously receive their submission, appeared before him and his overwhelming force, full of mild behaviour and fair promises. Those recreants bound themselves by indenture under heavy penalties, to surrender on a certain day all their lands and possessions, except their chattels, and to serve the king in his wars against such Irish as had not submitted; in return they were to receive *pensions* from the Crown during their lives, and, as an encouragement to freebooting, the inheritance of all such territory as they could seize from the rebel Irish in any part.



During Richard's stay no less than seventy-five native princes legally conveyed to the king of England, his heirs and successors, their principalities, estates, rights, &c., in exchange for his majesty's license to turn freebooters,—a privilege which they had heretofore enjoyed in their own right, and the only one they deserved to possess.

Richard proposed knighting his Irish vassals: these at first declined the honour, having been, as they said, all made knights at seven years old, by their royal fathers, as was their custom; but they were afterwards prevailed on to prepare for the ceremony, under proper instructions. It was with much difficulty they could be brought to sacrifice to the graces, or to yield to the laws of etiquette; they relinquished with reluctance their loose mantles for the silken robes trimmed with fur; their abhorrence of breeches was almost insurmountable. They grieved much at foregoing the patriarchal pleasure of dining with their minstrels and servants. The earl of Ormonde, who spoke Irish, and was very popular among them, succeeded in overcoming their scruples, and accordingly they were knighted, on Lady Day, in St. Patrick's cathedral. The four kings of Ireland were entertained with great distinction and urbanity by the well-bred Richard, at a banquet after the ceremony. Of those illustrious guests we may form some idea from the words of Froissart: "Though they be kings, yet no man can devise nor speak of ruder personages." Nevertheless, they were the princes of a nation which, a few centuries before, had sent forth doctors and divines to instruct and Christianize Europe.

Richard had written from Dublin to his council a sensible letter on the state of Ireland, informing them that the Irish were made rebels by griefs and wrongs done to them on the one part, and by want of applying proper remedies on the other. He was now busily and vainly employed correcting abuses, introducing improvements in various departments, and establishing law and order generally, when his presence was required in England by

the aspect of Scotland and the progress of Lollardism. He appointed his kinsman, the young earl of March, his lieutenant, and departed, A. D. 1395. Some of the late cringing septs again rose, and again subsided in defeat. Upon the lieutenant's return from Shrewsbury, he proceeded to chastise the Wicklow septs, and was slain.

In 1399 the king landed a second time at Waterford with a great army, which found inglorious employment in the pursuit of the flying chiefs. Richard began his military operations by an expedition against Art M'Morrough, king of Leinster. The latter betook himself to his fastnesses, where, with a band of 3000 followers, he bade defiance to the English. Richard, unable to penetrate the woods in which the chief had entrenched himself, set fire to the unprotected villages, and forced their inhabitants to cut a passage for him through the woods. The march was slow and distressing; the nimble enemy harassed him perpetually; his multitude felt their provisions growing scant. The king offered pardon, territories, and towns to the chief, if he would submit, as his uncle and others had done, but his offer was boldly rejected. Richard turned towards Dublin, while M'Morrough infested his rear. Having thus thwarted the king, and humbled his pride, M'Morrough sent to him, proposing a conference, for the purpose of effecting an accommodation; the earl of Gloucester and M'Morrough met at a place appointed, but came to no conclusion, by reason of the humiliating conditions required by the king. Richard vowed that he would not leave Ireland until M'Morrough, dead or alive, was in his hands; he set a price of 100 marks of gold upon his head, and was preparing a fresh pursuit of his game, when the astounding news of the duke of Lancaster's invasion of England called him home.

HENRY IV., 1399.—In 1402 Thomas, Duke of Lancaster, Henry the Fourth's second son, landed at Dalkey to assume the lieutenancy, which he held about two years. He came over again in 1408, when he impris-

soned the earl of Kildare and three of his family, very arbitrarily; he liberated them on payment of 300 marks.

In 1407 the deputy, Scroop, aided by Ormonde, Desmond, and the prior of Kilmainham, marched against Art M'Morough, who, after a gallant resistance, was worsted. The victors, suddenly turning, surprised Callan, and there put 800 of O'Carroll's men to the sword.

The Pale was generally so feeble and distressed during this reign, that it was found expedient to relax the statute of Kilkenny in many particulars. Marriage and fosterage with the natives, and the letting of the marches to Irish tenants, were allowed. In many instances an annual sum, called black rent, was paid to the border chiefs for exemption from their aggressions.

HENRY V., 1413.—Thomas Crauley, archbishop of Dublin, was deputy at Henry the Fifth's accession; the tide of war ran strong against the English, and it was thought advisable to appoint a deputy of military habits. Sir John Talbot, who afterwards won so much renown in the French wars, was chosen. In three months this active officer reduced the most troublesome chiefs to obedience—temporary, to be sure. By always compelling the foe he had just humbled, to serve against the next object of his vengeance, he performed, with a handful of troops, such signal services, that the lords of the Pale addressed a letter laudatory of them to the king. In 1417 he seized Donough, son of Art, and sent him to London, where he was committed to the Tower.

The old settlers presented a petition, which was complied with, to the English parliament, in 1417, praying that no Irishman should for the future be presented to any ecclesiastical benefice, and that no bishop of the Irish nation should be allowed to collate any clerk to a benefice, or be accompanied during his attendance on parliament or other council in Ireland, by any Irish servant!

Upon Henry's invasion of France, Thomas Butler, prior of Kilmainham, joined him with 200 horse and 300

foot; these were Irish troops, armed, after the fashion of their country, in mail, with darts and skeins (knives, or short swords), and "none," says Hall, "were more praised, nor did more damage to their enemies."

Richard O'Hedian, archbishop of Cashel, was impeached before a parliament held in Dublin, A. D. 1421, upon thirty articles exhibited against him by John Gore, bishop of Lismore and Waterford; one of the principal accusations was, that *he did not love the English*; the impeachment was not followed up. O'Hedian restored the dilapidated cathedral of St. Patrick at Cashel.

The same parliament sent a petition to the king, complaining of the grossest frauds, oppressions, embezzlements, and malpractices committed by all his officers in Ireland, from the lord lieutenant down; making particular mention of the deputies, Stanley and Talbot, who had practised sundry extortions and cruelties, and left their debts unpaid.

Towards the close of Henry's reign, his viceroy, the vigorous and equitable earl of Ormonde, chastised several of the petty chiefs, with whom collisions were becoming more frequent.

HENRY VI., 1422.—Ormonde was in the lieutenancy when Henry VI. came to the throne. Few occurrences of a historical character took place during the reign. The rivalry between the Ormondes and the Talbots, the aggressions committed by the tribes bordering on the Pale, the occasional repulses they experienced, and other petty affairs of the kind, compose the bulk of our annals. The principal deputies were—the earl of March, who died of the plague at Trim; the great Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, who was rewarded with the earldom of Waterford; the earl of Ormonde; Lord Wells; and the duke of York, the lineal heir to the crown, who, as nephew and heir of the late earl of March, was earl of Ulster and Cork, lord of Connaught, Clare, and Meath, and the inheritor of about the third part of the island. Notwithstanding the fierce opposition and perpetual machinations of the Talbots, in which they had often in-

fluence enough to engage the commons as their tools, Ormonde was several times appointed lieutenant. On a charge of treason preferred against him by the earl of Shrewsbury, he was committed to the Tower. The most prominent of his accusers was Talbot, the warlike prior of Kilmainham, who accepted the challenge of the accused. The prior, to qualify himself, went under the tuition of one Tehere, a London fishmonger, to learn "certain points of arms": the expense of these instructions was defrayed out of the king's own purse. When the combatants appeared in the lists, Henry interposed and prevented mischief. Ormonde was pardoned; and we see him shortly after acting as sponsor, along with his powerful and warm friend, the earl of Desmond, for the son of the duke of York, while lieutenant. The duke of York's administration was one uniform course of mildness, conciliation, and firmness. He enlisted on his side the zeal and fidelity of the great Irish lords by his frank and confiding manner, and secured the attachment of the people by his affability and justice. Upon the breaking out of the protracted and bloody contests between the Yorkists and the Lancastrians, he left his government here without leave, and proceeded to London, accompanied by 4000 men. After the defeat of the Yorkists at Bloreheath, he returned to Dublin, and resumed the government, having, during his absence of eight years, continued to appoint deputies. While here he was visited by Warwick, who came over from Calais to consult about their cause, the popularity of which was becoming daily more manifest in England. After the battle of Northampton, July, 1460, the parliament recognised York's pretensions, and declared him Henry's successor. But the queen, dissatisfied with this arrangement, rallied her party, and gained a complete victory at Nottingham, where the duke perished, with 3000 of his followers, and among them many Irish.

Among the enactments illustrative of the petty and rancorous legislation of those times, we may cite one which graces the administration of the earl of Shrews-

bury: "Any man who does not keep his upper lip shaved may be treated as an Irish enemy."

EDWARD IV., 1461.—The hereditary rivalry between the Butlers and the Geraldines, disposed them to take opposite sides in the wars of the Roses. The Yorkists made the earl of Ormonde prisoner at the battle of Towton, and beheaded him. The disgrace of the Butlers continued through this reign. Kildare and Desmond were in the height of favour. On the latter, who was chosen deputy in 1463, were showered lands, pensions, wardenships, custodies. He held parliaments in Wexford, Trim, and Drogheda. He was superseded in the deputyship by Lord Worcester, in 1467, who had him attainted of treason in a parliament held at Drogheda, and beheaded. The only crime of Desmond was, that he was too Irish, as appears by the charges, the principal of which are grounded upon fosterage and gossiping with the Irish, the enactments against which had become generally inoperative, had long fallen into disuse in Munster, Desmond's country, and were seldom enforced except to promote the ends of private vengeance. The earl of Kildare and Edward Plunket were attainted at the same time; but, as the sacrifice of the great victim was deemed sufficient for the present, the parliament restored the earl to all his rights. The duke of Clarence, who, at his brother's accession, had been appointed lieutenant for life, chose him for his deputy, shortly after the reversion of the attainder. In 1472, thirteen leading personages associated themselves for the defence of the "kingdom," under the title of Brothers of St. George. They took into their pay 200 men, who were to be under the command of a captain chosen annually from among themselves. This body constituted the whole standing army of Ireland.

The act of attainder against John, earl of Ormonde, was repealed in 1476. This accomplished earl was pronounced by the king to be "the finest gentleman in Europe."

On occasion of the marriage of Con O'Neill, the head

of the great northern sept of that name, with a sister of the lord deputy, Gerald, earl of Kildare, the parliament passed an act for his naturalization, though a little before the same body enacted that "the Pale should hold no correspondence with the Irish."

Richard, duke of York, the king's second son, succeeded (1478) the unfortunate duke, who was smothered in a butt of Malmsey. The earl of Kildare acted as the deputy of the infant prince.

EDWARD V., 1483, and RICHARD III.—During this short period (from 1483 to 1485) the Geraldines possessed all the authority of the Pale.

CHAPTER X.

HENRY VII., A. D. 1485.

HENRY BOLINGBROKE, the king, rewarded his friends in Ireland without punishing his enemies. He reversed the attainder of Thomas Butler, the seventh earl of Ormonde, which was passed in the first year of Edward IV., and retained Kildare at the head of the government. Though this lenity was employed to effect the king's ruin, yet subsequently he had no reason to repent of it. Upon Simnel's arrival in Dublin, Kildare immediately espoused his cause, and promoted it by all the influence and the means he could command, either as a private individual or a public functionary.

Edward, earl of Warwick, son of the late duke of Clarence, was fifteen years old when Henry VII. was proclaimed. He was then a prisoner in Yorkshire, whither Richard III. had sent him to close confinement. The jealous Bolingbroke ordered him to be removed to the Tower. It was this captive prince whom Lambert Simnel, the son of a tradesman, was instructed to personate. He was fifteen years of age when presented to the deputy, Kildare, by his prompter and guide, Richard

Simons, a priest of Oxford. So well prepared was he in the part which Simons had chosen him to act, that he deceived many; but it is no less true that many others forwarded his pretensions solely through factious motives. The example set by Kildare was followed by all the people of the Pale, by the Irish generally, and by the whole hierarchy, with five exceptions. Without inquiry, they proclaimed him as Edward VI. Soon after, the earls of Lincoln and Lovell arrived to his support from the court of the duchess of Burgundy, the aunt of the personated prince. She is justly supposed to have been privy to the cheat. They brought with them 2000 German soldiers, and immediately set about the ceremony of Simnel's coronation, which took place in Christ Church cathedral. The invasion of England was soon determined on. Multitudes zealously joined the expedition, and, among others, Kildare's brother, Thomas, who resigned the office of lord chancellor for the purpose.

The northern Yorkists kept aloof from this adventurous party; for the king had taken care to exhibit the genuine Warwick publicly, and thus to prevent the people from being led astray. They continued to advance, however, till met by the vanguard of the royal army at Stoke. Here was fought that sanguinary battle which put an end to Simnel's reign. The earls of Lincoln and Lovell, the Fitzgeralds,—lords Thomas and Maurice,—Sir Thomas Broughton and most of the other leaders, with 4000 men, were slain. Simnel was apprehended, pardoned, made a turnspit in the royal kitchen, and afterwards a falconer.

The earl of Kildare, and other lords of the Pale, acknowledged their offence, and were pardoned. The disloyal citizens of Dublin threw all the blame on the deputy and the clergy; the king took no notice of them, but shortly after sent over Sir Richard Edgecombe to receive new oaths of allegiance from various parties, and to make sundry scrutinies. Sir Richard and Kildare had at first some differences; but, after a few consultations, the latter took the oaths, and was invested with a gold

chain, which the commissioners brought him from Henry, as a token of favour.

Some time after, Henry, who had still suspicions of the Irish leaders, summoned them to England. When before him, he was content merely to advise them against a repetition of past errors. He afterwards entertained them at a banquet, where they had the honour of being waited on by their late sovereign, Lambert Simnel.

After the lapse of a few years, during which nothing more remarkable occurred than the marriage of the daughter of O'Brien of Thomond with the noble earl of Desmond, who was not deterred from those dangerous nuptials by his father's fate, we find the Irish the dupes of another political fraud similar to the former. The duchess of Burgundy put forward a young Fleming, named Peter Osbeck, commonly called Perkin Warbeck, as Richard, duke of York, the second son of Edward IV., pretending that the young prince had effected his escape from the Tower while the assassins were murdering his brother. Henry, who perhaps had, through some of his numerous emissaries, received intelligence of this new device, removed, about this time, Kildare and his father-in-law, the high treasurer, from their offices. The septs, who had been kept quiet by Kildare's name and popularity, rose tumultuously, and distressed the English borders, the moment the reins were taken from their favourite's hands. The war with France had just begun. The duchess availed herself of this favourable juncture. She ordered Warbeck to leave Portugal, where she had him latent till her time came, and to proceed to Ireland. The mayor and citizens of Cork acknowledged him with enthusiasm. The king of France, hearing of his warm reception in Ireland, and seeing that he would be a useful tool in his hands, invited him to his court, where he was treated in a manner suitable to the dignity he affected. But the French monarch having used him to his satisfaction in negotiating a peace with Henry, Warbeck was neglected, and withdrew to the duchess in

Flanders. This artful lady, pretending never to have seen him before, indulged in every demonstration of surprise and joy at the appearance of her nephew, and called him "the White Rose of England." In consequence of one of the articles in Henry's "great treaty of commerce" with the Netherlands, the duchess had to dismiss Warbeck, who returned to Ireland. His second attempt here turning out a failure, he repaired to the court of James IV. of Scotland. The efforts of this monarch in his cause having proved disastrous, Warbeck, for the third time, tried his fortune in Ireland, where he landed, as before, at Cork, in 1497. Being joined by the earl of Desmond with 2400 men, he marched upon Waterford, and laid siege to it. After a close investment of thirteen days, the citizens became in turn assailants, and compelled the enemy to retire. Warbeck returned to Cork, and sailed from thence to Cornwall. He and his first abettor, John Waters, mayor of Cork, were hanged at Tyburn. Desmond was pardoned, and subsequently received into the royal favour.

Between Warbeck's first and second visit to Ireland there occurred some events deserving notice. When the earl of Kildare was removed from the lord-deputyship, the archbishop of Dublin, Fitzsymons, was chosen in his stead, who was superseded by the first viscount Gormanston. Kildare having proceeded to England to defend himself against some representations made to the king, Gormanston followed over to oppose him, and Kildare was sent back in disgrace.

The circumstances connected with the late experiments of the imposters, Simnel and Warbeck, in Ireland, having seriously called the king's attention to that quarter, he sent thither as deputy a trusty agent, Sir Edward Poyning, with a council of English lawyers. Poyning's first operation was to proceed to Ulster, to punish the abettors of Warbeck, who had fled thither. He was accompanied by Sir James Ormonde and Kildare. Having made hasty terms with the chiefs, he returned to recover a castle which in his absence had been seized by James

Fitzgerald, the earl's brother. In November, 1494, Poyning called a parliament at Drogheda, which enacted the celebrated statute known as Poyning's Act*. By this statute it was enacted that no measure could be entertained by the parliament of Ireland which had not been first certified to the king by the deputy and council, under the great seal of Ireland, and approved of by him. By another clause it was enacted that all laws lately made in England concerning the public weal should be binding in Ireland. By this statute also the no less famous one of Kilkenny was renewed, save the clause against the Irish language, which now began to spread into the English settlements.

This parliament attainted the earl of Kildare, and declared his brother, James, and other Geraldines, traitors. The earl was sent in custody to England. The burning of Cashel cathedral was one of the charges against him, to which he gravely pleaded in defence, that he thought the archbishop was in it. This blunt and singular excuse greatly pleased the king. Henry advised him to choose good counsel, as he needed it; Kildare replied that he so intended, and would choose the king himself. The counsel pleading against him finished by declaring energetically, "all Ireland could not govern this man;" "then," said Henry, "is he the fittest man to govern all Ireland." The king verified his opinion by intrusting the lieutenancy again (August 6, 1496) to Kildare, who held it to the close of the reign, displaying a kind of penitential activity against the native chiefs. With them he was constantly engaged; but as the contests between such parties had lost all their national aims, they are as little interesting as edifying. It is of no use now to tell how the lord deputy, Kildare, compelled Neal Mac Aib O'Neill, the rival of the earl's nephew, Tirlagh O'Neill, to pay tribute and give hostages; still less, how the conflict was produced by Henry O'Neill murdering

* Mr. Henry Grattan nullified this statute by declaration of the rights of the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, Feb. 15, 1782.

his brother, Con, whose sons, Tirlogh and Con, retaliated by murdering their uncle, Henry. And yet there are persons who think that the Irish historian wrongs his country who does not detail such atrocities and conflicts with the same solemnity as if he were writing of Marengo and Waterloo. But we must not omit the memorable victory of the earl of Kildare over one of the greatest armies raised by the natives since the invasion, which he gained (1504) within seven miles of Galway, and which enrolled him among the knights of the garter. The Irish were led by Ulick Bourke, lord Clanrickarde; the deputy's kinsman, O'Brien of Thomond; and other chieftains. Their loss may be estimated at 4000 men, while not one Englishman is said to have fallen. This is quite possible, as few, if any, English were engaged; for the strife was between the northern and the southern half of Ireland.

CHAPTER XI.

HENRY VIII., A. D. 1509, TO MARY, A. D. 1558.

THE veteran earl of Kildare, after a triumphant career in Ulster, proceeded against a formidable confederacy in Munster, in which the Burkes, the O'Briens, and most of his friends, the Desmonds, were joined; and again he was victorious. He was preparing to win another wreath, when he was taken ill at Athy, where he died, September, 1513.

His son Gerald, the next deputy, pursued a similar career of fighting and success, in which there was nothing remarkable, except that, according to the scandalous tergiversations common in those times, we find some of his father's opponents ranged under the son's banner; and that private revenge, or personal interest, now habitually swayed the fluctuating policy of the native chieftains.

The jealousy and machinations of the English officials

here caused the summoning of Kildare to England, to answer some vague charges. In his absence Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, son of the victor of Flodden Field, was appointed lieutenant. Surrey exerted himself to collect as many particulars as should, when bundled together, appear like a proof of a treasonable understanding with the Irish enemy, whom he had worsted so often. While this vindictive industry was at work in Ireland, Kildare wooed and won a kinswoman of the king, Lady Elizabeth Grey, daughter of the marquis of Dorset. This family connexion helped to extricate him from the toils drawn around him; for he superseded his rival, Ormonde, in the lieutenancy, in 1524.

Surrey's administration was wise and vigorous. He humbled many native and Anglo-Irish chieftains, conciliated others, and sometimes succeeded in reconciling them to one another. But after considerable experience, perceiving that the warm temperament of the Irish equally facilitated the truce and its rupture, and that the fruits of victory seldom repaid its cost, he sought to be relieved of his government; informed Henry in a letter, that nothing but conquest could bring the Irish to peace; and expressed some misgivings of its practicability. Surrey left in 1521, having chosen as his deputy Piers Butler, who surrendered to Henry the earldom of Ormonde for that of Ossory.

The eighth earl of the loyal house of Ormonde had married Kildare's sister; but the old feud shamelessly tore asunder the amiable ties of this connexion. To compose the strife, commissioners were sent over, who being, it is said, under the influence of Dorset, returned a report which led to the removal of Ormonde, and that appointment of Kildare, in 1524, noticed above. New dangers, however, awaited him. He was accused of favouring the escape of his kinsman, the earl of Desmond, who was discovered in a treasonable negotiation with Francis I. of France, and whom he had received orders to arrest. Other disloyal dealings were also charged against him. He was committed to the Tower, but after

a period released; Dorset and Surrey, his old enemy, going security for his future fidelity.

Baron Delvin, deputy in Kildare's absence, was treacherously seized at a conference appointed to settle a dispute about black rent, by O'Connor of Offaly. This violent act produced great excitement in the Pale, and it was thought advisable to make Kildare's brother, Sir Thomas Fitzgerald, deputy.

In the midst of these broils, Surrey was again selected for the arduous office of deputy. The state of Ireland became a matter of serious discussion between Surrey and his master. In answer to a letter of Henry, inquiring by what means the land could be reduced to order, the deputy, pointing out the difficulties that stood in the way thereof, suggests *the extermination of the natives*, and a general colonization from England,—a remedy, however, which appeared to him not very easy to be administered. With noble candour he acknowledges the good disposition of many chiefs, and their readiness to hold their lands from the king.

To the great joy of the people, Kildare, whom Ossory had accused of being implicated in his son-in-law O'Connor's capture of lord deputy Delvin, returned in 1530, in company of the newly-appointed deputy, Sir William Skeffington. Kildare owed his deliverance to his influence and popularity at home, which enabled him to triumph over the complicated accusations of Ossory, and Cardinal Wolsey's fixed hate of all the Geraldines. During his detention in England he was still continued in his office of deputy, lest, as Wolsey says "his kinsfolk, the O'Connors, should overrun the Pale;" but when freed from restraint, Skeffington was made deputy, with Kildare for a colleague or adviser. Those parties did not long co-operate; jealousies sprung up between them. Kildare appeared before the king, and returned deputy (1532). The victorious deputy now threw himself entirely into the arms of the Irish, formed Irish family alliances, and entered into political connexions with several chiefs, declared enemies of the English. He in-

vaded Kilkenny, and laid waste Ossory's lands. The Butlers, and chiefly the lord high treasurer, Kildare's nephew, the council, Skeffington, and the master of the rolls, Allen, conspired against him, and, it must be owned, he had laid himself open to his enemies. He was summoned to England, whither he went with much reluctance and delay, leaving behind his son, lord Thomas, as his deputy, who was scarcely one-and-twenty.*

The wily enemies of the Geraldines soon circulated a report that Kildare was beheaded in the Tower, and that the same fate was destined for Lord Thomas and his uncles. Lord Thomas appointed the council to meet him at St. Mary's abbey. He appeared before them, surrounded by armed followers, delivered up the sword of state, and, in spite of the entreaties of the lord chancellor, Cromer, renounced, with a solemn vehemence, his allegiance. The city was weak; but Sir John White, the constable of the castle, was in a condition to offer a vigorous resistance. Lord Thomas proposed sparing the city, if the inhabitants permitted him to enter and storm the castle; to which, with the concurrence of the constable, they consented. Leaving some troops to carry on the siege, he marched against the earl of Ossory, who was prepared for him. He was vainly attempting to seduce the earl from his allegiance, when news came that the citizens of Dublin had closed the gates upon the besiegers, in consequence of some breach of their agreement, and arrested them as traitors. Lord Fitzgerald, who from his splendid apparel was popularly called

* A report entitled "Articles and Instructions to our Sovereign lord the king, for his lande of Ireland," was at this time transmitted to England. The author, after assigning various causes of the deplorable state of His Majesty's kingdom here, honestly declares, that the destruction of the land is to be attributed, not to the Irish chiefs, but "to the treason, extortion, and wilful war of the English lords."

Another report, with equal candour, asserts that if justice were used towards the native people, "they would be found as civil, wise, politic, and active, as any other nation."

*"Silken Thomas,"** proposed a truce which was agreeable to both parties. Fitzgerald wanted to proceed to Dublin—Ormonde, to concentrate all his forces against Desmond, who had joined in this unfortunate outbreak. Fitzgerald assaulted the castle, and failed; he was also baffled in attempting to take the city on Newgate side. Several inhabitants of the Pale, forced allies, were amongst his troops; they used arrows without heads, and shot others with letters conveying particulars of their leader's designs. Thus encouraged, the citizens made a bold sally, and put Lord Thomas to the rout. An armistice of six days was subsequently agreed to, and the surrender of the place promised, if the citizens failed to obtain for Lord Thomas his pardon and the deputyship for life. This truce led to nothing. After its conclusion Skeffington again arrived as deputy. Being in bad health, he remained inactive for some time, during which Silken Thomas scoured the Pale, and fortified his castles at Maynooth and elsewhere. He received but partial support from the native chiefs; the northern septs, and even those of Wicklow, sided with the government. At length, Skeffington recovered, and took the field. He captured Maynooth castle, which Fitzgerald deemed strong enough to hold out till his return from Connaught, whither he had gone to raise the clans. Of the prisoners taken in the siege, twenty-five were beheaded in front of the castle of Dublin, and their heads stuck upon its turrets. Thomas and his relative O'Connor were hastening to the relief of Maynooth when they heard of its fall, which so disheartened his partisans, that they withdrew in great numbers. With sixteen gentlemen in his train, he sought refuge in O'Brien's country; afterwards he thought of flying to Spain; but as he had forwarded treasonable overtures to Rome, the Emperor, and Scotland, his hopes of being able, by foreign aid, to take the field the following summer, induced him to remain. Meantime Ossory had the address to detach from his interest O'Moore, a

* Thomas na Sheeda.

chief of great power. Similar attempts were successful in other quarters, and to such a degree that father and son were to be seen on opposite sides. Many of the most patriotic septa were prevented from attending the Geraldine by their own private contentions. Ossory boasts of his success, "in sowing such strife among the Geraldines themselves that they continued long after full of war and debate, the one destroying the other." The strange alliances thus effected produced stranger results. The rebels were often spared by the Geraldine royalists, even in the battle; and when made prisoners were allowed to escape by the connivance of their friends. By virtue of this sympathy, lord Thomas himself was let go more than once. In this war there was little bloodshed, but rapine and waste desolated the afflicted land, while the plague swept over it with depopulating fury.

Lord Leonard Grey, an able officer, having been sent over to the assistance of Skeffington, the campaign, after some delay, was opened with activity. O'Connor, lord Thomas's chief prop, was forced to surrender; and shortly after, that young lord delivered himself up to Grey, foolishly entreating him to intercede with the king for "his life and lands." He was sent prisoner to London (August 1535), where, during his confinement, he was treated with cruel neglect, and denied the common necessities of life. In a letter, written from his prison, he describes his destitute state in simple and touching terms. "I never had any money," he says, "since I came here, but a noble; nor any other hose, doublet, shoes, nor shirt, but one; nor any other garment but a single frieze gown; and I have gone woolward, and barefoot, and barelegged, divers times, when it hath not been very warm; and so I should have done still and now, but that poor prisoners, of their gentleness, hath sometimes given me old hosyn, and shoyes, and old shyrtes." What a sad contrast between "Silken Thomas" and the incarcerated traitor in rags, the gift of charitable prisoners of the poorer class, without shoes or stockings, and shivering with the cold! His fate, his sufferings, his career,

into which he was precipitated by one of the most nefarious devices upon record, will ever excite a tender sensation of pity and regret.

In the beginning of the following year the five uncles of lord Thomas gave themselves up unconditionally. They also were sent over to England, and were, with their nephew, to whom hopes of pardon had been held out, executed at Tyburn on the 3rd February, 1536. The old earl was spared the anguish of this catastrophe. He died in the Tower shortly after the insurrection, the news of which hastened his end.

Immediately after his appointment Lord Grey destroyed Brien's Bridge, in which he was aided by the treachery of O'Brien's son, who offered his services on condition of obtaining possession of a neighbouring castle which he coveted. Grey afterwards razed the castle of Dungen in O'Connor's territory, being assisted in this arduous exploit by O'Connor's brother, Cahir. The government entertained a design of making this recusant, baron of Offaly, in order to secure his dependence on them, by rendering him thereby hateful to his countrymen. But the alliance of Cahir was of short duration. He soon joined his brother. Grey proceeded to punish him; but, finding it impossible to root him out of his fastnesses, he admitted him to a parley, and again accepted his submission.

After the execution of lord Thomas Fitzgerald, there remained two brothers by his father's second wife, lady Elizabeth Grey, sister of the present deputy. The eldest, Gerald, was under the care of his aunt, the widow of the late chief of South Munster; the younger, under his mother in Leicestershire. The aunt married the great northern chief O'Donnell, and thus secured for her nephew the joint support of the O'Donnells and O'Neill, who was the youth's relative. The co-operation of O'Connor of Connaught was obtained for him by O'Donnell. This league was strengthened by those potent allies in the south, lord James Desmond and the great O'Brien. The English government were anxious to get

Gerald, now called the earl of Kildare, into their possession. The accomplishment of the task was difficult, and the duty fell upon lord Grey.

Lord Grey had already made some endeavours to prevail on O'Neill to deliver up young Kildare, and had undertaken an expedition into Ulster with that expressed intention. Nevertheless, suspicions were entertained of a really contrary inclination on his part. He had now recourse to energetic measures. Accompanied by Ormonde, to whom his old title had been restored, he advanced into Munster, where he bore down all before him. Numerous chiefs voluntarily submitted; and a great many of the refractory were compelled to do so, coming to Ormonde's house at Thurles, taking the oaths and giving hostages. In his progress he came in sight of Desmond, but turned aside to Cork, owing probably to the paucity of his troops, who amounted to scarcely 1000 men. The deputy, however, stripped him of some of the dependencies of his usurped earldom, and bestowed them on the rightful heir, James Fitzmaurice, who accompanied him. He returned to Cork, and no further result was obtained from this "hosting," as such expeditions are termed by the chroniclers of those times. So far were those exploits in the south from bringing Gerald, who was in the north, within his reach, that they merely served to increase the precautions of his keepers, who had him conveyed to France, and from thence to Rome, where, under the protection of his cousin, Cardinal Pole, and Cosmo I., duke of Tuscany, he enjoyed security, and the blessings of a liberal education.

Brown, archbishop of Dublin, was the first of the Irish clergy to acknowledge the king's supremacy over the Church. Having failed in his efforts to bring round any others of the hierarchy, he advised the calling of a parliament, which sat in 1536, and passed the "Act of the Supreme Head," and forbade appeals to Rome under severe penalties.* Other steps were taken in the direction of the reformed doctrines; but, while religious per-

* Those of the *premunire*, Richard II.

secution was consuming her victims in England, she was scarcely known here from the first dawn of the Reformation till Henry's death. In 1537, after hearing Brown preach a sermon against the pope, two archbishops and eight bishops took the oath of supremacy.

Lord Grey retired from the lieutenancy at his own request in 1540, leaving the country in a state of quiet that it had not enjoyed for ages. For some time back Ormonde, Alen, the lord chancellor, and Brabazon, the vice-treasurer, had been contriving his ruin. It was not, then, without much dismay that he learned, shortly after his arrival in England, that these bitter and crafty enemies were summoned over to confront him. A number of charges had been accumulated against him, so that the multiplicity of his offences might compensate for the want of magnitude, or rather seriousness of each one in itself. One of the accusations was, that he passed through Thomond attended by only one galloglass of O'Brien. On this charge and others (amounting in all to ninety), not much more grave, he was condemned, and executed as a traitor on Tower Hill, in 1541. His real crime was his family connexion with the Geraldines, whom Ormonde had resolved upon destroying, root and branch. For several centuries an ordinary mode, used by great men, of getting rid of their powerful rivals, was to swear their lives away.

Sir William Brereton succeeded the active and effective Lord Grey. No sooner had the latter embarked for England than many of the septs commenced their old discursive warfare. But O'Neill, O'Donnell, and O'Brien appointed a muster of their combined forces in Westmeath. The lord justice took the alarm, and proceeded to the rendezvous with a large army; at news of which, the chieftains of the league abandoned their design. The lord justice let loose his men to gratify themselves in worthless destruction. This was nearly the last expedition found necessary for the remainder of the reign, during which a disposition for peace and reconciliation appeared to pervade all parties.

The assassination (1540) of James Fitzmaurice, the heir of the earldom of Desmond, by Maurice Fitz John, the brother of earl James, the usurper of the title, put the latter in the full possession of the dignity and estates. James, earl of Ormonde, had laid claim to that earldom in right of his wife; but he now relinquished his pretensions, and did his utmost to induce Desmond to break off with O'Brien and the other chiefs, and enlist his vast power and influence into the royal service.

O'Neill and O'Donnell solicited pardon. To the latter it was readily granted; but Henry withheld it from the former, with an intimation that the grace was postponed, not refused.

St. Leger, the new lieutenant, by wasting and burning, constrained a few obstinate chiefs to submission; among others, the brave and unwearied O'Connor Offaly, who was threatened with a special "hosting."

The king's conciliatory policy towards the chiefs produced abundant good fruit. They crowded his court, seeking his pardon and proffering their homage and services. Henry received them graciously, and sent them back with gifts and honours and gratified feelings. Among those suitors and vassals was O'Toole of Wicklow. When O'Neill, O'Donnell, and other great chiefs, had leagued against the Pale, O'Toole sent the deputy word that he would fight for him now, seeing all others were combined against him; but that, "as soon as the others made peace, he alone would make war on him." This heroic mountaineer kept his word. The moment the allied chiefs had withdrawn, he renewed his daring irruptions into the Pale; but, hearing of Henry's kindness and munificence, he demanded a parley with the lord deputy, to get permission to visit the monarch. The deputy supplied him with £20 for his expenses, and with a recommendation to the duke of Norfolk.

The earl of Desmond intimated his desire to submit. Having received hostages for his safety, he repaired to Sir Thomas Butler's house at Cahir, where the articles were signed and sealed. The jealousy between him and

Ormonde was set at rest for the time, by mutually engaging in heavy penalties to effect a marriage between their children. Desmond entertained the great functionaries in Kilmallock, where a deputy had not set foot for a century. The deputy subsequently held a parley at Limerick with O'Brien, who, however, would not venture to submit without consulting his nation; for, said he, "although I am their chieftain, I am still but one man."

On the 13th of June, 1541, that parliament assembled which conferred on Henry the title of king of Ireland. The dignity of this title had a good effect on the minds of chiefs and people; it also disabused them of some vague notion prevalent among them, that the sovereignty of the island rested in the pope for the time being.

This parliament was attended by many lords who had long disregarded that duty, and by several of the chiefs, to whom Ormonde interpreted the speeches of the lord chancellor and speaker. The political consequence of these leaders of the people has been rendered sufficiently obvious by the scenes in which they have been presented as actors, and the pains taken by the English government to conciliate them. To give an insight into the private condition of those personages, several of whom were on the eve of becoming peers of the realm, we shall state a few facts which will empower the reader's imagination to complete the picture. The proud, imperious Desmond had to beg of the king a provision of robes to make his appearance in parliament. The deputy informs us that he had previously supplied him with a gown, doublet, and jacket, which he wore wheresoever he accompanied the donor. Mac Gillapatrik, the future baron of Upper Ossory, and Reilly, the intended viscount Cavan, were clad from the same quarter. They were unlettered and unfurnished: the great O'Neill could not write his name; his submission is signed with his mark. In short, of all the native princes, O'Donnell alone appears to have enjoyed any familiarity with the comforts, much less the conveniencies of civilized life. He had a coat of crimson velvet, with twenty or thirty pair of

golden aiglets; and over it a double cloak of crimson satin with velvet bordering; a feather with golden aiglets adorned his bonnet.

The purely Irish peerage dates its commencement from the year 1543. O'Neill, accompanied by the bishop of Clogher, appeared before Henry at Greenwich, and surrendered his territory and family name. The monarch made him a grant of both, and created him earl of Tyrone, and his son lord Dungannon. The king refused him the earldom of Ulster, which he reserved as his own proper inheritance. Morough, the great O'Brien, as he was called, was created hereditary baron of Inchiquin, and at the same time received the earldom of Thomond for life, which dignity was to revert to his nephew Donough, who was made baron of Ibrickan. M^cWilliam Eighter, whose family had disclaimed their English origin, and who was the head of the De Burghs, was made earl of Clanrickard, and baron of Dunkellin; and M^cGilpatrick, his relation, baron of Upper Ossory. All these nobles were granted houses and lands near Dublin for their accommodation when attending parliament—an act of thoughtfulness and munificence which significantly displays the earnest solicitude and captivating attentions of the king.

EDWARD VI. AND MARY, 1546-1558.—During these two short reigns no events of importance occurred. The new liturgy met with some opposition from Dowdal, archbishop of Armagh, who was deprived; and the title and honours of the primacy were transferred to the see of Dublin, then filled by Browne. The Irish peers generally, spiritual and temporal, displayed ready acquiescence in the religious changes which were now in progress; and, withal, such a spirit of indifference or of toleration, that the iniquitous punishment of heresy by fire, disgraced neither party; nay, the minor persecutions with which that presumed crime has been so long visited, had not yet made their appearance.

The political condition of the country was equally quiet. The Pale experienced some partial annoyance

from the Leinster sept; and the native potentates in the north and the south rekindled for a while their expiring feuds. Among the O'Neills, Manus O'Donnell and his son engaged one another in a pitched battle, which proved adverse to the latter; and Shane O'Neill, and his elder, but illegitimate brother, Matthew, disputed the title and estate of Ulster. At one time in Edward's reign, both of those chiefs solicited the aid of France in throwing off the English yoke, and actually made over the sovereignty of their country to the French king, who, by the hands of his agents here, received at the same time their lives and fortunes under his protection. These dealings with France produced no results. On the petition of Philip and Mary, the pope, by a Bull, raised Ireland to the rank of a kingdom, and confirmed its succession to them, which was supposed to be lost to the English crown by its having broken communion with the Roman see. Upon the death of Henry, Gerald of Kildare returned from Italy, and was graciously received by Edward, who restored to him the principal part of his estates. Mary reinstated him in his hereditary title as earl of Kildare. Upon Edward's accession, Ormonde, Sentleger, the deputy, and Alen, the chancellor, who was known to have kept, by his artifices, the two former at deadly variance, were summoned to England, that the grounds of dispute among those functionaries might be investigated. Alen was committed to the Fleet prison. Ormonde, with sixteen others, his attendants, were poisoned at a banquet in Ely House, Holborn. In honour of Mary, the district of Leix was called Queen's county, and its capital, Maryborough; while, after her husband, Offaly was called King's county, and its principal stronghold, Philipstown. These were the only new shires formed since the time of John.

CHAPTER XII.

ELIZABETH, A. D. 1558 TO 1603.

Two years before Elizabeth came to the throne, the earl of Sussex, the lord lieutenant of Ireland, summoned a parliament in Dublin, which restored the authority of the pope and the old liturgy. He summoned another, proceeded to rescind the previous enactments, introduced the new liturgy, and with great gravity and composure revived that Reformation which he had so lately been employed to destroy.

The enmity borne by the lieutenant, Sussex, to Shane or John O'Neill, kept the country in a restless state. The latter, on several occasions, showed a disposition to preserve amicable relations with the queen, but the vindictive and subtle lieutenant always succeeded in thwarting his wishes. The ruin of John was his dearest object; and when he had no other way to effect it, he did not scruple to hire an assassin, to whose cowardice O'Neill owed his escape. Such little culpability was attached to this mode of destroying a personal enemy, that the lieutenant informed the queen of his intention without anticipating or getting any rebuff or admonition. In his letter to her majesty he says: "In fine, I broke with him" (Nele Grey, whom he had sworn to secrecy), "to kill Shane, and bound myself by an oath to see him have a hundred marks of land to him and his heirs for his reward." Such were the times.

The first aggression of this remarkable chieftain may, perhaps, have had its exciting causes in his hostility to the reforming party, and his fears of Sussex, rather than in any ambitious views. However this may be, he was regarded by the opposite party as their champion. He began by a furious irruption into the Pale, upon the return of Sussex in 1560. Adopting a well-known and convenient policy, the latter put forward O'Donnell,

chief of Tyrconnel, as a rival to dispute with O'Neill the royalty of Ulster. O'Donnell was created earl of Tyrconnel, and enlisted in the lieutenant's schemes; but Shane, having received information of the projects of his enemies, cut them short by seizing on his rival, for whom he lay in ambush. The information was said to have been conveyed by the countess of Argyle, O'Donnell's wife, who lived openly with Shane while her husband continued his captive. After this transaction, Shane expressed his readiness to make submission personally to the queen, who always showed him an almost unaccountable degree of favour and leniency. The lieutenant,* interposing every possible impediment in the way of this peaceable intention, succeeded meantime in exasperating the proud chieftain, and driving him again into rebellion. He defeated the English troops at Armagh, where their presence was resented by him as an encroachment upon his rights as sovereign of Ulster. This defeat was looked upon as so disastrous, that Elizabeth directed efforts to be made to induce him to appear before her for a friendly arrangement. These were successful, and he was furnished with a loan of £3000 to defray the expenses of his journey and stay. He accompanied the earl of Kildare to England (1561). The earl had been sent over with full power to treat with him, and concluded articles of peace mutually satisfactory. Notwithstanding the machinations of Sussex, he was received graciously by the queen; yet such delays and obstructions were put in his way as exhausted his patience and finances. The lieutenant had raised up a new rival in the son of the late Matthew, that illegitimate, whom Henry had created baron of Dungannon. The pretender was slain in an encounter with Shane's kinsman, Lynoch. Upon news of this untoward event, Shane obtained leave to return home.

Soon after his arrival he waged war on the son of his

* The patent was sometimes *lieutenant*, sometimes *deputy*; the power was the same.

captive, O'Donnell, and such toparchs as aided him. In consequence of those disorders, Shane was summoned to meet the lieutenant at Dundalk, a border town of the Pale. The council stated the object to be the due performance of the late treaty with her highness the queen; but after several unavailing efforts to persuade him to attend, Shane forwarded them an assurance that he would perform none of the articles to which they alluded. His arrogance having been raised to the highest pitch by the temporizing conduct of the government, and the sympathy felt for him by the great Catholic powers, he had for some time cherished the desire of establishing his authority over all Ulster upon the same footing as it was enjoyed by his royal ancestors, of whom he constantly boasted. He formed alliances with the Scots of the Isles, and wrote to the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, with whom he had cultivated an acquaintance while in England, soliciting an army from the French king, in order to "defend the Roman Catholic faith." The earls of Ormonde and Kildare were employed to detach him from his Scottish allies, but Shane made a compliance with certain petitions, lately presented by him, an indispensable condition. He claimed a revival of the authority possessed by his ancestors over some northern chiefs, an English title, and a suitable pension. But, above all, he solicited from the queen an English wife, for the express purpose of improving his polite education. This rich boon he had often entreated, but her majesty gave him no encouragement. None of his requests was gratified; and it must be allowed that it was exceedingly bad policy not to attend to the last; for most probably a lady of English extraction would have had it in her power to exercise over him an influence beneficial alike to the government and her ungovernable lord. Shane expressed a particular desire for the lady Frances, the sister of his inveterate enemy, Sussex. The refusal of all these petitions would naturally have been followed by a rupture, but for the prudence of Sir Thomas Cusacke, a lawyer, who was employed by the queen to negotiate with her haughty

liegeman. Articles of peace were effected, by this able man's exertions, between the queen on the one part, and "Lord O'Neill*," as he was termed in the indenture, on the other. In this document his title of "The O'Neill" is conceded till some other dignity shall be bestowed on him. This peace was hailed with delight by all parties. The queen removed her garrison from Armagh; the cathedral of which Shane restored to the dean and chapter. Amity and kindly feelings began to prevail, and The O'Neill to win the regard of all men. The lord of Ulster was now seriously determined on fulfilling every particular of the late treaty. The sincerity of his intentions was proved by a display of self-control while passing through the territory of O'Donnell, whom he had restored to liberty upon his surrendering to him the castle of Lifford. Deeply as he hated this dangerous rival, he abstained from committing any act of aggression on him as an ally of the English. He gave an additional argument of his fidelity by a signal victory over the Scots of the Isles, who had at an early period infested the coasts of Ulster, where ultimately they established a regular settlement. They had latterly manifested, under their chief, M'Connell, a bold encroaching spirit. O'Neill, who had been often urged by the earl of Leicester to perform "some notable service" that would render him more acceptable to the queen, now undertook their chastisement, and slew, in a general engagement, 700 of them, with some of their best leaders. This exploit was highly extolled by government; the hero was thanked by the queen; and the promised peerage was to be immediately conferred. But it was the usual policy to break faith with the Irish chiefs whenever they showed any unquestionable symptoms of honest dealing. By the party wishing a quarrel a pretence is easily found out, and especially by a ruling party. On this occasion the pretences had not the merit of being either plausible or silly; they were marked with

* The ancient spelling, *Niall*, had some time before changed to this form, which has been since retained.

that hardy and base effrontery which is the worst species of aggression, because it wounds the feelings and insults the understanding. Shane was actually called upon to answer for his "having proceeded against the Scots without advising with the lord deputy!" Such is the language of Elizabeth's instruction to the deputy; and surely we must infer from it that it was utterly impossible to live on friendly terms with those who were capable of using it. At all events, it was impossible to do so with Sydney, the new deputy, who from the first had declared his resolution to exterminate O'Neill, and who perhaps had some share in suggesting those instructions.

Accordingly, we find Shane again in arms. Sydney invited him to a parley at Dundalk; but Shane was too well aware of the dangers of such parleys, and answered the invitation by a terrific inroad into the Pale. The efforts of the deputy to humble him redoubled. The increase of vigour, and the magnitude of the preparations, had the effect of producing an alarming defection among O'Neill's supporters. Still, however, Elizabeth enjoined the use of gentle measures. Another parley was appointed at Dundalk, whither the lord deputy repaired with a guard of 1000 horse. Shane, after keeping him there in suspense for three days, suddenly laid siege to the town, but was repulsed with some loss. Sydney now pushed forward his wished-for expedition into Ulster with the greatest despatch. He received reinforcements from Bristol and Berwick, and was attended by the earls of Desmond, Kildare, Howth, and Louth, by the lord Fitzmaurice, and the White Knight, and the barons Dunboyne, Coraghmore, and Trimbleston. With such powerful auxiliaries the deputy set out upon his *hosting* into Ulster, whose chief would have been found a match for them all, had he not been deserted by the most powerful of those dynasts who had hitherto fought under his victorious banner. Among the dastards or traitors who abandoned him in his hour of peril, were the president of his council, and his own kinsman Lynoch. After the loss of most of his strongholds, and the destruction of his

large mansion at Benburb, Shane betook himself to his mountain fastnesses, from which he still bade haughty defiance to his foes. He indulged pleasing but delusive hopes of procuring aid from France, which he solicited in a letter to the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise. For this purpose he also applied to the Scots of the Isles; but Oge M'Connel, the brother of that chieftain whom he had defeated and slain two years before, was only waiting a favourable opportunity for vengeance. He now took advantage of the straits to which his adversary was reduced, and joined the ranks of the deputy. Thus deserted and disappointed, and all his affairs desperate, Shane's last chance was submission. He forwarded proposals to the deputy, and, accompanied by a few followers, repaired to M'Connel's camp. M'Connel received him with a treacherous welcome: during the evening's carousal, a body of soldiers rushed upon him and his followers, and despatched them with savage ferocity (1567). Thus ingloriously fell the clever, chivalrous, and wayward Shane O'Neill, who, more by the force of his own character than by the resources at any time at his command, for twenty years maintained his authority and dignity against every attempt to impair them, and exacted a deference from the English crown and its ministers, such as no former chieftain had ever been honoured with. He fell a victim to his own rashness, to the treachery of seeming friends, and to the policy of a government, cruel by habit, and inflamed by religious and national antipathies. The deputy had his head fixed upon a pole, and set on one of the towers of Dublin castle.

Shortly after O'Neill's return from England, Ormonde and Desmond made their appearance before the council, to render an account of the violent contests in which they were engaged, and in which their rancour seemed to be irritated rather than mitigated by their relationship. During his stay in England Desmond was in perpetual fear of arrest for debt: so great was the poverty of this lord of 600,000 acres, that his finances were re-

64. He was restored to favour upon promising

to suppress rhymers and minstrels, the brehon law, bonaght, and coyne and livery. Desmond's administration of his noble palatinate was bad in the extreme; nor did Ormonde manage his much better, notwithstanding his English education, as we learn from the account left by Sydney, who was an eye-witness of the misrule and wretchedness prevalent in the domains of those lords.*

During Sydney's progress through Munster, complaints were laid before him, by all the great lords and proprietors, of the misgovernment, exactions, and lawlessness of Desmond. In the ruin and disorganization which he observed in every quarter, the deputy had such decisive confirmation of the justness of those complaints, that he himself describes Desmond's rule as "a tyranny." He sent for Desmond, who, having no suspicion of the object in view, met him in Youghal, and was forced to go along with him for the remainder of his journey. Desmond, among other offences, was accused of extorting coyne and livery, contrary to the late enactment. To this charge he imperiously replied that he would not relinquish the tax, nor diminish the number of his gallow-glasses, but would henceforth maintain five for every one already in his service, and that he would have 5000 of them in the field by midsummer. But this tone altered into abject servility when the party entered Kilmallock, the ancient seat of the Desmonds, where he soon found himself a close prisoner, instead of a proud despot. He was conducted in custody to Dublin, and from thence to London, escorted by the deputy and several Irish chiefs, who had lately co-operated against Shane O'Neill. Desmond was committed to the Tower; and Sydney returned triumphant to Dublin, after having

* In 1565 these rivals encountered at Affane, in Wexford. Desmond was wounded and made prisoner. He was carried off from the field on a bier, supported on the shoulders of a few of Ormonde's retainers. One of them asked him, where was now the great earl of Desmond; he replied: "Where he ought to be—upon the necks of the Butlers."

justified his conduct in those transactions, the doubtful and summary policy of which had involved him in some trouble.

The cause of the captive was speedily espoused by his able kinsman, James Fitzmaurice, who put himself at the head of the Geraldines, and who, by appealing to the religious feelings of the Munster chiefs, had formed a strong confederacy among them. Fitzmaurice plundered Kilmallock, and burned it to the ground. He applied to Spain for assistance, as the champion of the Church, in which character he caused himself to be announced to the Catholic powers, who had already begun to combine against the Reformation. So certainly was Spanish aid relied on, that M'Carthy More, who had been raised to the peerage by the title of earl of Clancarty, as a sort of counterpoise to Shane O'Neill, already assumed the title of king of Munster. This braggart's courage, however, was of short duration. Sir Edward Fitton and Sir John Perrot arrived to preside, respectively, over the provincial courts lately established by Sydney's advice in Connaught and Munster (1569). Perrot, a man of great bravery, scarcely entered upon his presidency when the new king of Munster abdicated, fled to the privy council of Dublin, and implored pardon on his knees. This example was followed by the brothers of the earl of Ormonde, who had joined in the revolt. They were all pardoned. Weakened by defection, nothing was left to Fitzmaurice but to fly through bogs and woods before the active president, who, after a protracted and tiresome hunting—it could not be called warfare—at length compelled him to sue for terms. Having first sent his son as a hostage, he appeared before Perrot in Kilmallock, where, while kneeling with the point of Perrot's sword at his heart, he made his submission, and craved pardon in a speech disgracefully abject. In it he accused the earl of Clancarty and Sir Edmund Butler as the instigators of his "wicked rebellion."

CHAPTER XIII.

ELIZABETH—CONTINUED.

SIR EDWARD FITTON was accompanied to Ireland by the earl of Desmond, who had so far ingratiated himself with Elizabeth as to be received at Hampton Court. The indulgence he had met with made him quite confident of his total release, but, to his great surprise, he was cast into prison upon landing at Dublin.

The intolerable severity of Fitton's administration of the presidency of Connaught, drove O'Brien, earl of Thomond, and the sons of the earl of Clanricarde, into open rebellion. The earl himself was in prison, and procured his release by offering to exercise his authority over his sons in bringing them to obedience—a promise which he took no heed to keep. O'Brien had formed a conspiracy against the lord president, which was about exploding when he received an announcement of Fitton's intention of dining with him on the following day. O'Brien, thinking this an indication that all his plans had been discovered, withdrew to France immediately, where he afterwards confessed the whole matter to the English ambassador, who successfully mediated for him with the queen. His future services proved his gratitude.

Upon the death of O'Neill an ineffectual attempt was made to introduce English laws into Ulster, by abolishing the titles and privileges of chieftaincy by act of parliament, and by an attainder against Shane, which forfeited the greater part of Ulster to the crown. But it was easier to pronounce a forfeiture than to seize the lands. The pope continued still to present to the dioceses of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe. The ministers of the crown were still under the necessity of yielding so far to the force of Irish customs as to allow Tirlagh Lynoch (Luineach) to use the title of "The O'Neill," although such an offence had been declared treason.

Under Sydney's administration seven counties were added to the seven already existing, and these were mostly composed of the lands belonging to the dispossessed septs of Leix and Offaly.

Devereux, earl of Essex, prevailed on Elizabeth to join him in a scheme of colonizing the district of Claneboy, in Ulster. The expenses and the profits of the project were to be divided between the partners, each of whom was to supply 1000 men. This body of adventurers was led by many distinguished persons, who soon withdrew in consequence of the resistance given to the settlers by Hugh, son of Matthew, earl of Dungannon, and the chiefs Lynoch, M'Phelim, and Con O'Donnell. In an encounter with Devereux, Phelim and his wife fell into his hands. It is said that, after concluding a peace with this chieftain, Essex invited him to a banquet, at which his followers were treacherously slain, and himself and wife seized and sent to Dublin, to grace with their mangled carcasses the gates and towers of the city.

A dispute having arisen between the queen and Essex as to the distribution of the colonists, and money failing the latter, the scheme was abandoned; and shortly after the earl died in Dublin, poisoned, it was supposed, by the procurement of Leicester, who married his widow (1576).

The lord deputy having raised taxes by royal authority alone, the parliament drew up a remonstrance, which was borne to Elizabeth by delegates. The remonstrants and their agents were imprisoned by the imperious queen, who thought lightly of the privileges of parliament; but the parties were discharged upon the lords of the Pale agreeing to a composition for seven years; the queen, however, still insisting on her unconstitutional prerogative.

Pope Gregory XIII. issued a Bull in the year 1576, depriving the queen of all right and title to Ireland, and exonerating her subjects there from allegiance. James Maurice took the field to give efficiency to this ab-

surd document, notwithstanding his late compunctious submission. Fitzmaurice had been two years vainly canvassing the Continent for assistance. He at last succeeded in procuring from the pope a supply of arms, ammunition, and money, together with three small vessels, in which, embarking one hundred adventurers, commanded by San Giuseppe, an Italian, he sailed for Ireland. He landed at Smerwick bay in Kerry, erected a fort, and was joined by the two brothers of Desmond, with their followers. The people, however, withheld their support, deterred, perhaps, by the deputy's proclamation, or fearing that their leaders would, as formerly, leave them in the lurch; and Fitzmaurice, under pretence of pilgrimage, went to Holy Cross, in Tipperary, the hot-bed of turbulence, courage, and ferocity. On his way he had need of a horse, and seized one belonging to his cousin, Sir William de Burgo. This freedom was resented; a collision ensued, in which several on both sides fell. Two of the brothers De Burgo were slain. The son of Theobald, one of the slain, and Fitzmaurice, perished by each other's hands. For this accidental service Sir William was created baron of Castleconnel.

About this time was captured and slain by Fitzpatrick, the lord of Upper Ossory, the restless and mischievous chief, Rory (Roderic) O'Moore, so celebrated in song and tradition. Though Rory's followers were reduced from 500 to 50, he still continued to harass the Pale from his mountain fastnesses, and thus to gratify an unprofitable vengeance for the wholesale stripping of his sept.

Sir John Desmond, who, to prove to his partisans his sincerity, slew his intimate friend, Davels, an English gentleman, assumed the command of the Spaniards upon the death of Fitzmaurice. Sir Nicholas Malbie came up with the rebels near Limerick; a battle ensued, which was favourable to the deputy. The earl of Desmond, who witnessed it from a neighbouring hill, and who had long pursued a course of indecision and duplicity, wrote

Malbie a congratulatory letter on his success; but letters were found on the person of Dr. Alen, who fell in the engagement, which implicated the earl in treasonable connivance. Desmond was proclaimed a traitor. He verified the proclamation by attacking the royal camp at Rathkeale, and afterwards setting up his standard on Ballyhowra Hill, in the county of Cork; he sacked Youghal, which he held for five days, and so complete was the havoc, that only one individual was found in the town when the queen's troops entered it; this was a poor friar, who had brought the body of Davels from Tralee, and was giving it Christian burial. The earl's success was trivial and brief; his castles were taken one by one, and he was soon compelled to wander about houseless, from one fastness or lurking-place to another. In these forlorn and wearisome wanderings the aged and harassed fugitive was accompanied by his incomparable wife, and by Saunders the legate. That glorious woman adhered to him in all the changes of his fortunes, soothed his irritated feelings and humbled pride, relieved him of half his cares by sharing without seeming to feel them, and supported his drooping spirits with the language of hope, of fortitude, and of heroism. She roamed with him by night and by day, hid with him in brakes and fens, cheered him in the sooty cabin, by the scanty fire; and ventured more than once within the very walls of the castle, to see whether the melting eloquence of her devotedness and woe would move a heart to save the weak and wayward man who had ruined her. To the very last the hapless Desmond derived comfort and consolation from that angelic being, who tempered the cup of sorrow with the balm of conjugal affection. She had gone so far as to place her only son in the hands of the deputy as a hostage for the father's future behaviour, but even this sacrifice failed to propitiate the government.

Lord Grey de Wilton was put at the head of the Irish government in 1580. Without brooking the delay of inauguration, he made an incursion into Wicklow, where,

in the valley of Glenmalure, he was ignominiously defeated by the native chiefs and captain Fitzgerald, who, with a corps of infantry, had deserted to their side. In this engagement the brave and hardy Sir Peter Carew, and other able officers, perished. The hopes of the insurgents were now further inflamed by the arrival at Limerick fort of 700 Spaniards and Italians, with arms for 5000 men, ammunition, and a considerable sum of money, which was conveyed to the earl of Desmond, and his brother, Sir John. They completed the fort which Fitzmaurice had begun. Grey attacked it by land and sea, and forced it to surrender at discretion. They sought to obtain terms, declaring that they held the fort for the pope and the king of Spain; the lord deputy, insisting that they were private adventurers, without any commission, put them all to the sword. Sir Walter Raleigh, who deserves much less sympathy than is bestowed on him, was one of the principal butchers. Grey, in his despatch, Nov. 12, 1580, mentions that he had accepted the unconditional surrender, and says, "then put I in certayne bands, who streighte fell to execution; 600 were slayn."

The hunting down of Desmond was now intrusted to Ormonde, who for this purpose was appointed lord president of Munster, and in whom the misfortune of his fallen foe never awakened one generous sentiment. The president drove him out of the wood of Aherlow, where he lay concealed with about sixty gallowglasses. They were afterwards surprised in the night, some sleeping, others eating a stolen horse, by a detachment from the garrison of Kilmallock, who slew most of them. The earl and his countess subsequently evaded an attempt to seize them in a miserable cabin near Kilmallock, by plunging into a neighbouring river, where they remained, screened by some bushes on the bank, till the search was relinquished.

But Desmond was reserved for a worse fate than even that of falling into the hands of his political foes, who had set a price on his head. He and his few followers had for some time subsisted on casual plunder. Some of these

had taken off the cattle of one Moriarty, who, with a fellow-sufferer, tracked them; others joined on the way, and appointed one Kelly, a soldier, to guide them. Descending the deep valley of Glanakilty, they looked in through the window of a ruined house, to which they were attracted by a glimmering light, and there observed five or six persons round the fire; they retired for a moment to consult, and, concluding that the party in the house were the aggressors, returned to it, but found that all had fled except a venerable man who was stretched before the fire. Kelly nearly cut off his arm with the first blow; the old man cried out, "Spare me, I am the earl of Desmond;" but the remorseless assailant, bidding him prepare for death, separated his head from his body with another blow (1583). After a concealment of a few weeks, the body was interred in the chapel of Killanagh, near Castle Island, in the county of Kerry. Desmond was a conceited, showy man, of weak understanding and vast arrogance; cautious without prudence, and reckless, without any real bravery. Not content with his provincial splendour, and quite indifferent to the interests, fortunes, or safety, of those about him, he sought to make a figure, to be concerned in great transactions, and accordingly involved himself, his dependents, and adherents, in enterprises which he had not abilities, or even fortitude, to conduct. But his greatest errors have been attributed to his head rather than to his heart, which, after all, is but a meagre excuse for those dangerous blockheads who are the authors of much mischief, private or public. The afflictions and virtues of that noble lady, who meekly and magnanimously followed his desperate fortunes, render intense the commiseration which his melancholy fate naturally excites.

In 1584 the able and just Sir John Perrot, who was supposed to be Henry the Eighth's son, was appointed lord deputy, but resigned, at his own request, in 1588. Two years after his return to England his enemies got up an inquiry into his Irish administration; he was sent to the Tower, where he died of a broken heart, while sen-

tence of death was yet hanging over him. Perrot's treacherous seizure of Hugh O'Donnell, son of the great northern chief, is a foul stain on his memory. He sent a ship laden with Spanish wines to Donegal, into which Hugh and his two companions, sons of the famous Shane O'Neill, were inveigled, and brought off to Dublin.

In the parliament held April 28, 1586, the late earl of Desmond and one hundred and forty of his adherents were attainted. Lands, estimated at 574,628 acres, were confiscated, and sold at 3*d.* per acre to English undertakers, on condition of letting to *no Irish tenants*.

CHAPTER XIV.

ELIZABETH—CONTINUED.

HUGH made his escape from the castle of Dublin after an imprisonment of three years, and upon his return home was, with his father's consent, elected to the chieftainship of Tyrconnell. He sought revenge of his wrongs, and applied to Hugh O'Neill, son of the late baron of Dungannon, who had lately obtained from the queen, in person, permission to succeed to his father's title and estates. The young chieftain was warmly received by Tyrone, whose loyalty was at the time wavering, though he had laboured to merit his earldom by serving in the late wars against Desmond: his inclination to revolt was somewhat increased by a feud with his brother-in-law, Sir Henry Bagnal, marshal of Ireland, who charged him with carrying off his sister, and forcing a marriage with her. After Tyrone's coalition with Red Hugh, his inherent duplicity prompted him to write to the English council, informing them that he had brought over O'Donnell to the queen's allegiance, and was ready to serve against him if he should prove obstinate. O'Donnell boldly resented this treacherous conduct, and assured Tyrone that he would treat him as an enemy if he did not take a more

decided course. Tyrone, roused by some threatening expressions let fall by the lord deputy, Sir William Russell, formed a confederacy with the northern lords for the defence of their honours, religion, and estates. He took up his residence at Dungannon, and, continuing the discipline of his troops by discharging the trained hands and taking in new, so as to avoid creating suspicions, he awaited some succours expected from Spain. The government, however, after a time took the alarm, and sent over Sir John Norris to take the command of all the forces in Ireland, with the title of lord general. Tyrone now assumed the treasonable title of "The O'Neill," which he had formerly declared to the queen to be barbarous, and destructive to the peace of the realm. Wishing to anticipate the arrival of supplies from England, Tyrone, whom the northern dynasts had appointed their commander-in-chief, struck the first blow by seizing the fort of Portmore. He besieged Monaghan, but marshal Bagnal compelled him to retire. He now sued for pardon, but was refused; subsequently he offered the king of Spain the sovereignty of Ireland for a sum of money and a supply of 3000 men. Though now forced into the woods, he was at the head of 8000 men, and it was therefore thought prudent to parley with him; he submitted, and agreed to make his county a shire. At the same time he stipulated, on the part of the allied chiefs, for the free exercise of religion. When the queen granted him a pardon, he rejected it, and blockaded Blackwater fort. But marshal Bagnal, his brother-in-law, was determined on relieving it.

On the 14th August, 1598, Bagnal, at the head of 4000 foot and 350 horse, set out from Armagh for the fort. The main body of the Irish, of equal strength with the enemy in infantry, but somewhat superior in cavalry, occupied an entrenched position on the small river Callan, at the Yellow Ford, about two miles from Armagh. Tyrone's wings rested on bogs and woods; deep trenches were drawn out through the roads and fields; and numerous pitfalls were added to the impedi-

ments. The ardour of the troops was inflamed by the recitations of O'Donnell's poet, O'Cleary; and their confidence strengthened by his allusions to a prophecy of St. Bearchan, which foretold that Hugh O'Neill would defeat the foreigner at the Yellow Ford. As the marshal's vanguard proceeded, it was severely galled by the earl's skirmishers; nevertheless, they pushed on, and gallantly carried the first entrenchment; but, upon their advance, Tyrone made a furious charge, which drove them back beyond the trench. The regiment in the van was cut to pieces before it could receive support, as the divisions were disposed too far apart for mutual succour in the sudden emergencies of battle. Bagnal behaved gallantly. At the head of his own regiment, he forced the trench a second time; and now the engagement became general at all points. Nothing could withstand the impetuosity of Red Hugh O'Donnell and Mac Sorly Mac Donnell. Though constantly checked by the cool intrepidity of the troops under Cosby and Wingfield, yet they drove back the front line before the reserve could come up. The explosion of an ammunition waggon, and the fall of the marshal, who received a musket shot in the forehead, as he was raising his visor to take a better survey of the field, created confusion and spread dismay through the English ranks. Tyrone perceived the fortunate moment, and did not hesitate to seize it. Followed by forty horse and some spearmen, he threw himself upon that point where he had observed the most wavering and confusion, and thoroughly broke the line. His whole centre advanced; but before he could come to close quarters the royalists rallied, and received his furious onset with equal fury and characteristic steadiness. Meanwhile, the storm in front was but a breath compared to the tempest in the rear. In the advance on that quarter, the greatest triumph of the English was to accomplish one quarter of a mile in an hour and a half; and that quarter of a mile swam with the boiling blood of both sides. Here the *Queen's* O'Reilly, so called because of his opprobrious service, gave convincing proofs of daunt-

less valour and rare skill. Retreat after retreat he recovered, and restored the contest with fresh vigour. The death of the commander had not reached this sanguinary quarter, when O'Reilly was making his last effort to infuse his own indomitable soul, and cut short an impending flight. This effort had just succeeded, and the deeds of bravery and death were renewed, when the gallant soldier fell, and resigned the field to a foe that won it well and dearly. The rout now become general; the slain numbered 1700; the proximity alone of Armagh saved the rest from being cut to pieces. The Irish loss was 700. (August 14, 1598).

Tyrone's fame spread throughout Europe, and all Ulster rose in arms, while no English ventured to go out of their garrisons. The earl of Essex, the queen's great favourite, was now sent over with 20,000 foot and 2000 horse. Instead of marching immediately into Tyrone, he proceeded to Munster, where he gained nothing but the feigned submission of a few chiefs. On his way back to Dublin he lost many of his men and officers by the repeated attacks of the O'Moores of Leinster upon his rear-guard. Having thus wasted away three months, he advanced into Ulster, and encamped within view of Tyrone's army, on the banks of the Brenny. He assented to an interview with Tyrone, at the ford of Ballyclinch. Upon Essex's appearance on the opposite bank, the latter spurred his charger into the river to greet him, and there continued, with the water up to his knees, till the end of the conference. A truce was concluded between the leaders, to be renewed every six weeks during the winter, but open to be broken upon a fortnight's notice given to either party. The demands which Tyrone made were, that his religion should be tolerated, that the officers of state and the judges should be natives, and also half of the army; and that O'Neill, O'Donnell, and Desmond, should enjoy the lands possessed by their ancestors for the last two hundred years.

Essex, bitterly reproached by Elizabeth in her letters for the utter failure of his expedition, suddenly left Ire-

land, and was succeeded by Lord Mountjoy, who had been previously set aside by the intrigues and influence of Essex; at the same time Sir George Carew was appointed lord president of Munster (1599).

Meantime Tyrone was down in Munster, stirring up the chiefs there. Mountjoy, who prudently projected a chain of garrisons throughout the country, left Sir William Lambert, with 1000 men, to guard the Pale, and went in pursuit of Tyrone. Mountjoy, aided by Ormonde, Thomond, and Clanricarde, took every possible precaution to intercept The O'Neill's return to Ulster. The Shannon was watched by Thomond and Clanricarde; the mayors of Limerick and Galway received proper instructions; while Mountjoy himself occupied the towns of Athboy, Athlone, Mullingar, and Ballymore. Notwithstanding all these contrivances to hem him in, and the vigilant and active pursuit of Ormonde, Tyrone out-marched and out-generalled his enemies, and arrived safe in Ulster. Elizabeth wrote to the lord deputy, declaring that this proud attempt to pass over the whole kingdom had stricken terror into the hearts of her subjects.

Shortly after this famous retreat, Ormonde invited Carew, who was on his way to his presidency, to be present at a conference with the chiefs of the O'Moores. On this occasion Ormonde began a religious altercation with one Archer, a Jesuit, to whom he applied offensive language. The troops of O'Moore now began to join the party; they made Ormonde prisoner, but Thomond and Carew effected their escape. Ormonde continued captive till ransomed, the following June, for £3000.

Moryson takes notice of the improved state of the native inhabitants of the Queen's county at this period, which he attributes to the long absence of her majesty's troops from those quarters; but the late act of O'Moore provoked a fresh visitation, in which £10,000 worth of corn, "the only subsistence of the rebels," was destroyed.

The president of Munster exerted himself to sow dis-

sensions among those chiefs who had countenanced Tyrone, and planned, as he himself composedly confesses, the assassination of the two principals, the titular earl of Desmond and his brother John. They, however, escaped Ormonde's plot, but not the active pursuit of Carew, who forced them to take refuge in the woods.

The earl, called in the graphic language of the natives, the Sugan, or Straw earl, was attacked by the garrison of Kilmallock while endeavouring to gain the wood of Aherlow with 600 men, and completely defeated. Nevertheless, the name of Desmond was yet so potent a spell of rebellion, that it was deemed advisable to send over the late unfortunate earl's son, James Fitzgerald, who had been kept in the Tower from his infancy, that he might use his influence and mediation with his uncle. To give the greater weight to his mission, he was provisionally restored to the earldom. Upon his appearance at Kilmallock he was equally received with honour by the governor, Sir George Thornton, and enthusiasm by the open-hearted people. Next day was Sunday. The earl, who had been carefully bred a lutheran, was seen going to the protestant place of worship: his popularity was at an end, his people took no more notice of him than of a total stranger, and his visit proved fruitless. His return to the English court was soon followed by his death, which was attributed to the rather aristocratic means of poisoning, more than once proposed to Elizabeth on other occasions, and never once condemned.

After all the various and formidable efforts of the natives during this long reign, there now remained not one castle in Munster which held out against the Queen; and of the vast armies, the only trace was in five fugitive chiefs, the earl of Straw, his brother John, the baron of Lixnaw, the knight of the Valley, and Lacy.

In the north, The O'Neill was confined to Tyrone by the chain of garrisons with which Mountjoy had surrounded him; but out of Tyrone it was impossible to dislodge the earl, and there he waited, expecting aid from

Spain.* At length two small vessels arrived with arms, ammunition, and a sum in gold, all which the earl divided with the Munster confederates (1601); but these had received a heavy blow by the arrest of the Sугan earl, upon whom a price was set, and who fell into the hands of his once zealous and intimate friend, the White Knight. The retreat of the earl was a cave in the mountain of Slieve-gort. The knight, having received information of the place of his concealment, proceeded thither to perform a task imposed on him by the dreadful necessity of the times, for his life and lands would be the forfeit of the slightest delinquency or remissness. Standing at the cavern's mouth, he called aloud to the earl to give himself up; coming boldly forward, Desmond ordered the knight to be seized and bound; but the attendants of the latter answered this gasp of authority by disarming Desmond and his foster-brother, whom he led away to his castle. For this vile service—worse than death to a noble mind—the knight received £1000, and secured to himself an inalienable inheritance of execration and scorn. The earl was tried at Cork for treason, and condemned to death. The sentence, however, was not carried into execution: having reminded the government that as long as he lived, his brother John, who was at large, could not succeed to the title, it was thought proper to spare him, as more was to be feared from his brother's succession than from setting him free.

Tyrone kept the deputy still at bay in the north, the latter being unable to discover any pass into the earl's territory, either by his own vigilance or the infamous aid of a bribed guide. He cut a way through dense woods, and arrived at a river, from which to Dungannon, Tyrone's mansion, there was a short and level distance of

* At this period the queen sought to indemnify herself for the expenses of the Irish war, of which she was constantly complaining, by sending over a base coinage, a measure advised by Ferrot, who, aware of the danger of such expedients in well-governed states, declared it could do no harm in Ireland, "being all out of order."

four miles; here Mountjoy built a fort and a bridge. Tyrone, about this time, had a narrow escape of assassination by the instrumentality of a crazy fellow, who offered his services for that purpose to Sir Charles Davers, the governor of Armagh. The landing (1601) of another Spanish force of 3000 men at Kinsale called the indomitable earl again into Munster. Mountjoy was in Kilkenny when the news of this invasion reached him. Badly supplied as he was at that critical juncture, still he appeared forthwith at the scene of action, and recaptured the fort of Rincorn, which the Spaniards had garrisoned; at the same time thirteen ships brought him a reinforcement of 1100 men from England, under the conduct of Thomond, and shortly after appeared Sir Richard Levison's squadron of ten ships of war. On the other hand, six Spanish ships landed ordnance and ammunition at Castlehaven. Tyrone and O'Donnell were hourly expected, and, after some unavoidable delay, made their appearance. O'Donnell was closely pursued by the lord president, but he fairly distanced him, having in one day completed a march of thirty-two Irish miles, notwithstanding the incumbrance of baggage. On his arrival at Kinsale, Tyrone took up his position in the rear of the English, among his favourite bogs and fastnesses, and entrenched himself strongly. This position enabled the earl to intercept Mountjoy's supplies, and afforded him all those advantages most desirable in that manner of warfare to which he was accustomed; but he was induced to abandon it, contrary to his own judgment, by the urgent entreaties of the Spaniards and O'Donnell, who wished him to attack the English encampment. On the night of the 23rd of December he broke up his position, and marched to join the Spaniards in their attack. His guides missing their way, he did not reach the appointed place till long after the expected time. An irregular engagement ensued: Tyrrell led the vanguard, in which were 2000 Spaniards; O'Donnell the rear; and the earl the main body. A panic having seized their horse, which was composed mostly of heads of septs and


the gentry, the rout of the Irish soon became general, and 1200 of their troops fell on the battle-field. The loss of the English was only one cornet killed, and four soldiers wounded. The Spaniards were allowed to return home, upon giving up the neighbouring towns in their possession. O'Donnell, whose impatient ardour was the chief cause of this disaster, fled to Spain; Tyrone, wounded, and borne on a litter, reached the Blackwater, and, after some difficulties, regained the redoubtable north.

Between the Irish and their Spanish cousins little cordiality appears to have subsisted. In his conference with Sir William Godolphin after the battle, Don Juan d'Aguila, who commanded the foreign allies, throws all the blame of the failure on the tardiness of the Irish chiefs in attempting to force the English camps, and then ridicules them for having been blown into divers parts of the world by a handful of men: he also denounces the natives as not only weak and barbarous, but as perfidious friends. The latter part of this character was assuredly at no time applicable to the great body of the people, however appropriate occasionally to some of their leaders; but it is useful for a nation to know what censures have been pronounced against them.

Mountjoy now followed Tyrone into his own country. He built a fort near the Blackwater, which he called after his christian name, Charlemount, and intrusted its command to Sir Toby Caulfield, afterwards created baron of Charlemount. His encampment was about six miles from Dungannon, which he soon had the pleasure to see in flames, by Tyrone's directions. Dungannon was taken possession of by the lord deputy, and the strong fort of Enniskiloughen shortly after. In the course of the deputy's devastations he broke to pieces the stone chair on which The O'Neill, according to ancient custom, was always inaugurated. Such was the havoc of the sword and of famine, that "none was left to give opposition, and nothing to be seen but dead carcasses." The deputy made everything a pretence for his violence. He laid

waste the country of M'Mahon, the powerful lord of Monaghan, for daring to assert a claim to his own property. He smote with a sword which refused the scabbard as long as it could find a victim. But, stern and unbending as he was, the suggestions of prudence could win him over to a milder policy. He had driven Tyrone from one stronghold to another, and now persuaded the reluctant queen to offer him pardon upon terms. The earl surrendered himself at Mellifont, renounced the title of O'Neill and the connexions which he had with foreign powers, and prayed for the restoration of his rights, which was promised to him. After his submission he accompanied the lord deputy to Dublin, where they arrived the day before the intelligence of the queen's death.

Complete as was the victory at Kinsale, it did not entirely quench the war in Munster. The castle of Dunboy, belonging to O'Sullivan, lord of Beare and Bantry, was claimed by the lord president as one of those which was included in the Spanish admiral's capitulation. O'Sullivan denied the right of either belligerent to deprive him of his ancient possession, and effected an entrance into it, before its surrender, by perforating the wall. This strong fort was the last hope of Spain in Ireland, and its siege became a subject of intense anxiety. It was defended by a resolute garrison of 144 men, commanded by the brave Richard M'Geoghegan, its constable. In April, 1602, the president marched from Cork, and sat down before it. The besieged gained some successes, and their confidence was further increased by the arrival of a Spanish vessel with arms and money. The feeling which seemed to prevail among both parties, that the fate of this fort would decide whether Ireland was to belong to Spain or Britain, dignified the siege with a heroic character. The defence was continued as long as one stone remained on another. As each story was battered down, the successive landing-places were the scenes of desperate and deadly struggles; at last no retreat was left but the vaults and



cellars: here the remnant of the defenders still refused to yield. A battery was brought up and pointed against them. The cry of surrender was at last extorted. As the officers descended to receive their submission, the constable, M'Geoghegan, who was mortally wounded, made an attempt to explode some barrels of gunpowder, and involve all, victors and vanquished, in the same ruin; but he was seized, and, after a fierce struggle, despatched. More than half the gallant garrison fell in its defence; the rest were hanged immediately after the surrender.

The loss of the castle caused a large fleet to be countermanded which was at Corunna, ready to sail for Ireland. The preparing of this armament was due to the exertions of O'Donnell, who was received in Spain with every mark of the royal favour. His last hopes were now extinguished to a ray which led him dimly back to the king with a final appeal. The court was then at Valladolid; but the chief sickened within two leagues of that city, and died at Limances, in the twenty-ninth year of his age.

CHAPTER XV.

JAMES. I., A. D. 1603 TO 1625.

JAMES having been supposed to be at heart a Roman catholic, several of the large corporate towns formally restored the old worship, Waterford taking the lead. But Mountjoy quickly undeceived them, and maintained the intolerant enactments in all their rigour. But Tyrone and other great lords having petitioned his majesty for toleration, the penal laws, though not repealed, were not enforced. Tyrone and Roderic, the brother of the late Red Hugh, accompanied the lord lieutenant to England. James confirmed his title and estates to Tyrone, and created Roderic earl of Tyrconnel. These favours

paved the way for the introduction of English law into the territories of those lords, who now admitted sheriffs and judges of assize. The first judges that sat in those districts were Sir E. Pelham and Sir John Davies, the latter of whom declared of the natives, "that no people under the sun loved equal and impartial justice better."

But the Roman catholics soon found themselves mistaken in the king. The acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were put in force, under the latter of which several of the Dublin aldermen had been fined and imprisoned at the very beginning of James's reign. A proclamation was now (1605) issued, commanding all priests to quit Ireland under penalty of death; and the leading petitioners against it were thrown into prison, in direct violation of the privileges guaranteed to the subjects (in this instance belonging to the Pale) by the Great Charter. There were introduced, about the same time, invaluable improvements in the nature of the tenure by which landed property was held. The English common law of descent was made to supersede the system of clan-ship, tanistry, and gavelkind, which a judgment of the king's Bench pronounced to be illegal, and abolished.

Tyrone grew weary of quiet, and again commenced plotting. He was, indeed, exasperated by the spies which were kept over him, thwarted by an unsuccessful lawsuit with Sir Donogh O'Cheane, a neighbouring chief, and driven forward by the baron Delvin, who had been reared in the Tower, during his father's imprisonment, in the deadliest hate of the English domination. These lords carried on their conferences at Maynooth, where, in the garden of Kildare's mansion, Tyrconnel first proposed entering into their designs. Tyrone resumed his negotiations with Spain, of which some hints had reached the government, when an anonymous letter, written by the earl of Howth, a late convert, gave information of an intention of seizing the castle and murdering the lord deputy (1607). Tyrone threw himself on the mercy of the council. Three months after, he and Tyrconnel,

to the surprise of the whole kingdom, withdrew to France, having embarked at lough Swilly. No satisfactory cause of this flight could be ascertained at the time, and nothing has since transpired to leave the matter independent of conjecture. His conduct has nothing in it so mysterious:—he was involved in litigation; the introduction of English law had sadly circumscribed his revenue, by depriving him of the ready means of levying it,—his will,—which sometimes raised it to £80,000 a year; he had again commenced treasonable practices, which his want of means subsequently showed him to be more dangerous to himself than to others. If we couple with those circumstances the sad and passionate leave which he took of the deputy at Slane, the Saturday before his departure; his bitter weeping at Garrett Moore's house, and his solemn farewell to every child and servant in it; he appears to have torn himself away from a lost country and a wretched home, and fled, an exile with a broken heart, seeking consolation in a change of scene, yet not unwilling to embrace the means of vengeance when accessible, like thousands of others who have left their native shores under fewer aggravations. Whilst Tyrone was able to struggle, he occupied a conspicuous position in the eyes of the great catholic powers, but he was now left to dwindle away in obscurity. He fixed his residence at Rome, where he subsisted on a slender pension allowed him by the pope and king of Spain. He died in 1616, old, worn-out, and blind. He left a son, who was assassinated at Brussels a few years after, and who was the last of this, the most distinguished, branch of the Hy-Nials.

Delvin was tried and condemned, but effected his escape from the castle of Dublin. Having eluded pursuit, the baron voluntarily presented himself next year before the king, was pardoned, and raised to the higher dignity of earl of Westmeath.

The calm which followed the flight of Tyrone, was suddenly broken by Sir Cahir O'Doherty, the young chief of Inishowen. Provoked by an accusation of hav-

ing been privy to Tyrone's late conspiracy, and insulted by the governor of Derry, who, in an altercation, struck him, he meditated a horrid revenge. Having invited the governor, with the commandant of Culmore Fort and his wife, to an entertainment, he had them seized in the midst of their cheer, and threatened them with death if the fort was not surrendered. The commandant refused, but was ultimately persuaded to comply by the earnest entreaties of his wife. Cahir, immediately supplying himself with artillery and ammunition from the fort, marched upon Derry, and took it by surprise. After a struggle of five months, his career was cut short by a shot received in an engagement with marshal Wingfield.

Almost the whole of Ulster was forfeited to the crown by the outlawry of Tyrone, O'Donnell, and O'Doherty (1608). James undertook its colonization, in which project his most useful assistant was the lord deputy Chichester, afterwards baron of Belfast. The whole territory, amounting to 800,000 acres, was to be allotted in three sorts of parcels; the first, of 2000 acres, intended for the English servitors of the crown, and rich English adventurers; the second, of 1500 acres, for the Irish servitors; and the third, of 1000, for the natives of the province. Some English corporations entered into this speculation, and especially that of London, which obtained 209,800 acres in Derry, and engaged to lay out £20,000, and rebuild Londonderry and Coleraine. To raise money for the maintenance of a military force for the protection of this colony, the hereditary title of baronet was established, and sold at a fixed price.

Chichester summoned a parliament in 1613, the first that had assembled for the last seven-and-twenty years. During this interval seventeen counties had been added, and many of the new hamlets of the north were enfranchised as boroughs. Now, therefore, for the first time, the representation extended beyond the Pale, and we find the new parliament consisting of 232 members, of whom 125 were protestants. In the house of peers were four earls, five viscounts, twenty-five protestant prelates,

and sixteen barons, in all fifty. The lords of the Pale remonstrated on the state of the representation, as only furnishing mean and ready tools to the crown, many of the members of the northern boroughs being servants and attorneys' clerks; and they finished by praying the repeal of all laws having for their object to force consciences.

The government put forward Sir John Davies, the Irish attorney-general, as candidate for the speakership; the recusants, or catholics, Sir John Everard, a catholic, who had been a justice of the king's Bench. Everard's party questioned the right of voting in those who represented boroughs illegally constituted. An angry dispute arose, when the master of the ordinance suggested that the matter should be put to the vote, by the affirmative party withdrawing with their man, Davies, to the lobby. When these retired, the recusants resolved that they were in a majority, and put Everard in the chair. Upon Davies re-entering the house, his friends, in a rage, declared him duly elected; but, being unable to remove Everard from the chair, they forced their favourite into his lap. The recusant members subsequently withdrew from the house, and ceased to attend altogether, as did also the lords of their party. The lord deputy prorogued this divided assembly, and the recusants sent delegates to London with their complaints. James dismissed them with sharp rebukes, but granted a commission of inquiry, by which the differences were rather satisfactorily adjusted. Amity being thus restored, the parliament granted a subsidy; and James was so pleased with their loyalty and liberality, that he declared he would treat the natives of Ireland with as much favour as his other subjects, and that their prosperity would be as dear to him as the safety of his own person. Upon the reassembling of parliament, friendly feelings still survived. It was agreed that no laws against popery should be introduced, and in gratitude the Roman catholic members unanimously assented to the bill of attainder against Tyrone and his fellow-exiles. The catholic archbishop of Tuam was the only man of his creed who had courage or

honesty to protest against the vindictive attainder. In this parliament all the old iniquitous statutes against "the Irish enemy" were repealed, at the just and wise suggestion of James and Davies.

Sir Arthur Chichester, to whom the king had granted the whole of Inishowen, was succeeded as lord deputy by Sir Oliver St. John. The most vexatious and oppressive parts of the penal code were now put in force, especially the levying of fines for absence from the protestant church, by which immense sums were raised. According to law those fines,—one shilling for each absence,—should go to the poor, but went to the crown, Chichester having gravely declared, "that the poor, being catholics, were not fit to receive the money, but should pay the like penalty themselves." Those fines were rendered still more grievous by the enormous fees which the lawyers and their clerks, employed in levying them, stringently exacted. Now, also, commenced that jealous exclusion of the Roman catholics from every post and office, which continued to a very late period (1829), and which, as time has well proved, but little promoted that religion it was perhaps adopted to serve. At the close of the reign (1623) the Roman clergy were ordered to quit the kingdom within forty days, and all persons forbidden to converse with them thereafter.

It was about this time that the learned Ussher, the great ornament of the Irish protestant church, drew up a confession of faith, which was sanctioned in a convocation of the clergy, but superseded, thirty years after, with no little difficulty.

James, having so well succeeded in the plantation of Ulster, was tempted to extend his plan to other quarters. With this view he caused a general inquiry to be instituted into defective titles, which diffused alarm throughout the provinces. There had been so many grants, resumptions, re-grants, confiscations, and forfeitures, that few could consider their property secure. Even those who held for ages by prescriptive right were not safe, when the principles of English law were employed in in-

vestigating their tenures. All were harassed, thousands ruined. In Leinster alone 82,000 acres were declared escheated to the crown, and portioned out among English settlers. Needy and unprincipled wretches, under the name of *discoverers*, swarmed through the country, whose business it was to find out flaws in titles to estates. Upon the pretence that not one Irish family had an acre of freehold within the Pale when it was first planted, a general outrooting of the native proprietors was carried forward in the five counties. Seven septs were hunted out of the Queen's county into Kerry, and forbidden to return under pain of martial law; and Carte describes the treatment of the O'Byrnes of Wicklow as "a scene of iniquity and cruelty scarcely to be paralleled in the history of any age or country." Lease or indenture was unknown and unneeded by the original proprietors. *Legal instruments* were scarcely understood till Henry VIII.'s time. To try Irish titles by English law was, therefore, the keenest device of villany.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHARLES I., A. D. 1625 TO 1661.

THE enormous debt of £700,000 entailed on Charles by his prodigal father, compelled him, perhaps reluctantly, to complete a bargain with the Roman catholics, which he promised to have ratified by parliament, for the remission of the most oppressive parts of the penal enactments, in return for a contribution of £120,000 to be paid in three yearly instalments. Lord Falkland, the deputy, summoned a parliament for this purpose; but as it was called without his majesty's license under the great seal of England, the English privy council pronounced the assembly illegal. The Roman catholics were thus so far disappointed. A protestant synod held in Dublin, under the auspices of archbishop Ussher, indignantly denounced all toleration of papists as sinful, and that such toleration, granted for the sake of money, was set-

ting religion and the souls of the people to sale. Henceforth, every attempt at mitigating the laws against papists was not only futile, but more or less dangerous.

In 1633 Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, who commenced his career in the British senate as a champion of liberty, and subsequently sold himself to the court, came over to Ireland as lord deputy. By dexterous management of the two Irish parties, the protestants and recusants, or catholics, he succeeded in obtaining voluntary contributions, which were so long continued that they promised to become a settled tax on the contributors' estates. But the wants of the government became so urgent, that other supplies were necessary, which could not be procured but through parliament. It was feared, however, that parliament would act upon his own constitutional maxim, which was the glory of his patriotic days, namely, that "redress of grievances should ever precede the grant of supplies." To obviate this danger, he tells us, he smuggled into the house as many captains as he could, whose dependency on the crown would secure their civility, and, at the same time, he so balanced the other parties that their power was absolutely neutralized. When the house was thus tempered, he informed the recusants that, if they did not support the army, he should levy the Sunday fine; and then, addressing the protestants, informed them, that, till they had established a regular revenue, he dared not discontent the papists. The commons, without displaying the least unwillingness or vexation, unanimously voted six subsidies, and the convocation eight, of £3000 each. While the lower house was thus obsequious, the upper applied itself to the public grievances, and demanded a confirmation of certain promised graces, of which the principal was the relinquishing, on the part of the crown, of all claims upon lands previous to the last sixty years. Wentworth impudently declared that he had never delivered the articles concerning the graces to his majesty. This declaration, if true, would convict him of an infamous fraud; if false, of a fraud infinitely more so. There is

a letter of Charles proving it to have been false, in which he thanks Wentworth for the fraud and the falsehood, both having been convenient to him.

His attention was next directed to the church, which he strove to conform to that of England. A select committee of the lower house was appointed to examine the canons of the church of England, with the dean of Limerick in the chair. Wentworth was enraged at their mode of proceeding; summoned them before him; abused them; called the dean, Ananias; and dismissed them with injunctions as to their future proceedings, which he wished to be conducted so as to deceive the commons, and bring about his own ends. His schemes, however, failed: the articles of Ussher were still retained. Yet so well pleased was he with his measures, that he wrote to Laud in this style: "I may now say the king is as absolute here as any prince in the whole world can be."

This parliament passed the two statutes of Wills and Uses, which, for the purpose of exterminating popery, placed the education of the principal heirs apparent of the kingdom under the control of the crown. These acts were considered to be master-strokes of policy.

An attempt was set on foot to plant Connaught in the same manner as Ulster and Leinster. To effect this design, Wentworth had recourse to such a mixture of audacity and trick, of fraud and plausibility, as baffles description. When he entered upon this undertaking, he acknowledged, in a letter to the king, that he could not discover any title to either Connaught or Ormonde; still he proceeded, and succeeded. By holding out a prospect of purchasing indefeasible titles by a slender composition, he induced some of the counties to recognise the king's right. Moreover, the judges and the jurors were bribed with four shillings in the pound out of the first yearly rent of such estates as their verdict should vest in the crown; a device of which Wentworth says, "I find it to be the best-given money that ever was." The Galway jury rejected the claims of the crown. The deputy seized the earl of Clanricarde's house at Portumna, and in

its very halls had his title impeached. Galway sent agents to the king. Wentworth advised him to send them back prisoners, that he might proceed against them in the Castle-chamber, a miniature of the Star-chamber, and fine them for daring to appeal against his deputy. These proceedings terrified the Connaught proprietors: afraid of losing all, they surrendered their estates to the king, confiding in his mercy. Clanricarde wrote to the deputy, entreating him to accept their submission; but the latter required that the jury should confess that they had given a false verdict; to which the former replied, that "so many persons of their quality would never acknowledge a wilful perjury." The sheriff and jury were summoned to the Castle-chamber: the sheriff was fined £1000; the jury, £400 each. They were then sent to prison till the fines should be paid, and the offence acknowledged on their knees in open court.

Such were the arbitrary proceedings of a vain, able, and unscrupulous man, whose only public virtues were his fidelity to his master, and his tolerant spirit. It was his boast, that during his administration no one suffered for conscience' sake. But no act of Wentworth's brought more odium on him than his cruelty to lord Mountmorris. This lord's kinsman, Annesley, hurt the deputy's gouty foot while sitting in the presence-chamber. Some one noticed the matter to Mountmorris, who observed, "perhaps it was done in revenge; but Annesley has a brother that would not take such a revenge." For this saying a court-martial, who interpreted it into an incitement to vengeance, sentenced Mountmorris to be imprisoned, cashiered, disarmed, and shot or beheaded at the general's pleasure. Wentworth himself read out this judgment, pronounced it a fair and noble one, and declared before those present at the trial that he would not lose his share in the honour of it. Mountmorris did not suffer the capital penalty; but the deputy played with him as a cat does with a captive mouse, liberating and confining him, threatening and indulging him alternately, till he was half dead. The object of the crafty

torturer was to extract a confession of the justness of the sentence. Tyrants should remember that such confessions never produce the effect intended; for their credit is readily discovered by the concurrent circumstances, and the characters concerned.

The revenue and commerce of the country were greatly improved by Wentworth, notwithstanding his prompt extirpation of any branch of trade which interfered with English interests. Thus, to benefit the English woollen trade, he forbade the exportation of Irish wool, except on the payment of heavy sums for license; but, to make up for the prohibition, he introduced the linen trade, which soon became very profitable, and greatly improved the habits and comforts of the northern population. Though anxious to discourage every species of enterprise which might clash with the interests of England, Wentworth was not inattentive to other manufacturing resources in Ireland. Having taken a just and comprehensive view of the linen scheme, he entered upon it with earnestness, activity, and perseverance. He spared not his purse, his time, or his thought. He spent thirty thousand pounds of his own in importing flax-seed and manufacturers from Holland, and in carrying out the details. Thus did the wholesale plunderer make amends, as it were, for his rapacity and extortion, by laying the foundation of that prosperous and profitable manufacture, linen cloth, which from his time to the present has been stupidly confined to the north of Ireland, although the south would be found more congenial to it. His great guiding principle was to place the people at the mercy of the crown, both for food and raiment. With this view he instituted the prohibition against woollen goods, and made the sale of salt a royal monopoly. In one of his letters he observes, speaking of the latter article, "It is of so absolute necessity, that the price may be raised at all times;" and in another, referring to the tendency of his inhuman measures, he asks, "How shall they (the Irish) be able to depart from us without nakedness and beggary?"

CHAPTER XVII.

CHARLES I.—CONTINUED.

THE chief aim of Wentworth's administration was to raise money for the king. One of the means of effecting this purpose was to render the parliament submissive, or to act in defiance of it. He projected both courses, prepared himself for them, and pursued them. To pave the way for the humiliation of the legislative body, he directed all his efforts to break the power of the great lords, which had always been employed to the worst purposes. He treated the most exalted characters with the most insulting arrogance. Whatever he proposed for the interests of his master, he carried with a bold display of contempt for remonstrances. He plainly told the council that he sought obedience, not advice; and that submissiveness was more convenient to him, and more becoming them, than murmurs. One of those measures devised to weaken the power of the ascendant faction, which always seemed to thwart him, was to show a certain amount of protection and favour to that oppressed party whose persecution he had at first viewed, if not with satisfaction, with total indifference. In pursuit of his policy, if he did but little for the catholics, yet during his administration it must have been some comfort to them to behold the abasement of their remorseless enemies. In the managing, the levelling, and the enfeebling of parties, his artifices were subtle and various. He plied puritan, churchman, and catholic, with the pleasures of hope, and the disquietudes of fear. The papist was promised protection against religious persecution; while the fanatic zeal, intolerance, and cruelty of the puritan were lauded and flattered. He contrived to render the vices of one party, the earnestness of another, the sufferings of a third, tributary to his purposes. Whatsoever he undertook he brought to a successful issue. His vision was clear; his aim direct and steady; his

arm nervous; the arrow quick and piercing. With a sort of wild enthusiasm to serve his king at any cost, he tore away, with headlong energy, every obstacle between him and his mark. In his rapid career he was delayed by none of the troublesome demurrings of virtue; thwarted by none of the petty cavillings of principle; embarrassed by none of the trepidations of feeble timidity. Enterprise, boldness, and fire, were the characteristics of his spirit, and the vehemence of his genius was surpassed by the reach and certainty of his understanding. His abilities were not circumscribed to a debate in council, or to the plots and intrigues of party; he had talents of the highest order for trade, commerce, and manufactures; and, as a statesman, was fitted to shine in that firmament of republican luminaries which he had deserted. His eloquence embellished the powers and acquisitions of his mind. It was a fierce torrent, or a gentle stream. Its thunder dismayed, or its music charmed. It overwhelmed, persuaded, won; and the graces of a polished elocution decked all his wondrous affluence of language.

When the council pressed the lieutenant to call a meeting of parliament, he stiffly told them that he would recommend the measure to his majesty, if they would agree to renew their contributions for one year. The contributions were granted, and the subtle minister raised a formidable army to overawe the legislature.

Charles encouraged those artful unconstitutional proceedings. On one occasion he wrote to Wentworth—"As for that hydra, a parliament, take good heed, for you know that there I have found it as well cunning as malicious. It is true that your grounds are well laid, and I assure you that I have great trust in your care and judgment; yet my opinion is, that it will not be *worse* for my service, though their obstinacy make you *break* them." After this intelligible hint, Wentworth went to work with vigour and vivacity. Before the assembling of parliament it was customary to consult the lords of the Pale; this he contemptuously declined to do. When

they were met, he addressed them in this manner—"The king desires this great work may be settled by parliament; as a faithful servant to his majesty, I shall counsel him to attempt it first by ordinary means. Disappointed there, where he may with so much right expect it, I could not in a cause so just and necessary deny to appear for him at the head of my army, and there either *persuade* them fully that his majesty had reason on his side, or *die in the pursuit* of his commands so justly laid on him." This parliament enacted a number of laws which were well calculated to promote the tranquillity of the kingdom. Among them was one for abolishing all social distinctions between the original natives and those of Anglo-Norman descent; and another for adopting the most beneficial of the English laws passed since the reign of Henry VII.

When the affairs of Scotland became urgent, Wentworth was summoned over to help his master. To the voluntary contribution set on foot for the king's necessities, he led the way by subscribing £20,000. His liberality was rewarded by an advance in the peerage, which was twice before coldly denied him. He was created earl of Strafford, and was honoured with the title of lord lieutenant, which had been bestowed on no governor of Ireland since the time of Robert, earl of Essex.

The Irish parliament, which had long been as obsequious and liberal as they could be, now began to imitate their brother legislators in England, and to have an infectious intercourse with them. They grew suspicious and complaining; remonstrated against the weight of taxation, and repented of their late hasty kindness. They railed against the abuses of the established church, the corrupt traffic in her benefices, and the extortions of her clergy for marriages, christenings and mortuaries. The violence of the English parliament was adopted as their model. They denounced the most beneficial measures of Strafford's introduction, even those which they had a little before most applauded; and among them the laws which forbade attaching the plough to the horse's tail,

tearing wool from the living sheep, and burning corn in the straw as a substitute for threshing. They commenced reducing the subsidies, and insisting on a more constitutional mode of levying them. The enraged monarch ordered the leaf containing those economical and constitutional resolutions to be torn out of their journals. The commons drew up a statement of their grievances, and appointed a select committee to lay it before Charles. This committee were forbidden on their allegiance to leave the kingdom. They embarked, however, from various ports, and presented their remonstrance of grievances, consisting of sixteen articles, before the commons of England (1640), who had not been assembled for eleven years before. This was the long parliament, one of whose first acts was the impeachment of Strafford, whose administration of the presidency of the north of England had excited against him an odium every way equal to that which he earned here; and whose activity against the Scotch—all fruitless as it was—had highly exasperated the puritanical senators. Charles directed him to attend the parliament, promising him that one hair of his head should not be touched. The principal accusations against him were grounded on his conduct in Ireland: one was that he had publicly asserted that the Irish were a conquered nation, and that the king might do with them as he pleased; and another, that he had encouraged the papists, and raised an army of 8000 men from among them. The impeachment was marked with acrimony and injustice; but, as it seemed likely to fail, a bill of attainder was substituted. The minister was condemned; and his master, who might perhaps have saved him had he resolutely refused to subscribe, signed the warrant for his death. He was beheaded May 12, 1641.

It is natural to suppose that the distraction and weakness of England attracted the attention and excited the hopes of the leading Roman catholics, both of Irish and Anglo-Irish descent. They had, unquestionably, personal, national, and religious wrongs long rankling in their breasts, and it is not at all wonderful that they now

became active and enterprising. Not only were they encouraged by the state of England, but the condition of their own country was such as greatly to increase the natural sympathies of the people with any undertaking that promised them redress. The great mass of the population in Leinster and Ulster was composed of those outcasts who had been thrown on the world by the plantations. Connaught also swarmed with exiles from the other provinces, as well as with her own ruined wretches. These were combustible materials which a spark ignited. Most probably it was whispered among them that the king wanted their services, and they were shown the advantageous opportunity presented by the troubles in England of satiating their vengeance, or redressing their wrongs, or, at least, of saving themselves from extermination, with which they were threatened by the puritans, and by Sir William Parsons, who, "at a public entertainment, declared that, within a twelvemonth, no catholic should be seen in Ireland." The dread of extermination, and the favourable opportunity, were, no doubt, persuasive motives to revolt and anticipation; but there was an old arrear of grievances in itself sufficient to prompt the Roman catholics to seize the time,—grievances against which several remonstrances and petitions had been vainly presented. The earl of Ormonde (*Letters, &c.*) attributes the revolt to Parsons' threat of extermination, and the king (*Icon Basilike*) to the same cause, and the refusal to redress grievances. These authorities considerably enfeeble any opposite statement. That it was a sudden outbreak is evident from the acknowledged fact that the insurgents were, at first, a tumultuous rabble, without arms or ammunition, who for some time restricted their violence to the seizure of the houses, lands, and goods of protestants and planters. (*Ormonde, Borlase, Temple*). Two able leaders, whom their own circumstances, as well as the crisis, brought forward, soon appeared to organize and conduct the popular rising. These were Tyrone, a son of that earl who died in exile; and Roger O'Moore, whose sept was almost annihilated by the sword, and

whose ample patrimony was in the possession of strangers. Such leaders were not likely to temper the flame which was now kindling. Political, social, and religious motives were appealed to, to spread and hasten the insurrection.

O'Moore visited Ulster, and held conferences with lord Maguire of Inniskillen, M'Mahon, grandson of Tyrone, and Sir Phelim O'Neill, the most influential man in the north: all these immediately joined in the proposed movement. The first day of the meeting of parliament in November had been appointed for the general rising; but the impatient Irish decided on surprising the castle of Dublin on the 23rd of October. The night before the attack, O'Connell, a protestant gentleman, whom M'Mahon had thought to win over, disclosed the design to Sir William Parsons, the lord justice. The information led to the arrest of Maguire, M'Mahon, and thirty others. So little concerned was M'Mahon, that, while waiting for examination before the council, he amused himself by chalking on the floor men hanging in gibbets. O'Moore and other leaders effected their escape in the night. The northerners had risen to a man on the stated day. Sir Phelim seized on Charlemount castle by a disgraceful stratagem. He invited himself to sup with lord Caulfield, the governor, and, being accompanied by several followers, made Caulfield and his family prisoners in the midst of their festivity. The same night he captured Dungannon, the former seat of the Ulster kings. In eight days the rebels became masters of all Ulster, cities, towns, forts, and fields. These successes put O'Neill at the head of 30,000 men. This vast army is a clear indication of the extent of the insurrection, which was rendered universal by the nefarious machinations, the threats, the perfidy, and the cruelty of the lords justices and their agents. It is admitted that the justices could, almost at the very outset, have allayed the public discontent, and extinguished the flame of rebellion, had they made known to the people the acts and graces granted by his majesty, to do which they were earnestly urged

by both houses of the Irish parliament. But the justices, and their revolutionary friends in the British parliament, steadily and remorselessly pursued one object,—confiscation. It was calculated that the spread of the rebellion into Connaught and Munster would extend the confiscation over 10,000,000 acres. A company was formed in London for the purchase of those prospective domains. They submitted their proposal to parliament, the drift of which was to raise money to suppress the rebellion by the sale of the forfeited lands. Rumours of this nature diffused general apprehensions. The Roman catholic proprietors in the south were in doubt which was the safer course,—to remain quiet, or to fly to arms. The insolence and cruelty of St. Leger, the president of Munster, and the shadows of coming events, drove them towards the latter alternative.

Perfect confidence prevailed among the Irish of ultimate and speedy triumph. Their progress was rapid, but sanguinary violence soon began to tarnish their successes. This was the case especially in the north, where Sir Phelim O'Neill was, as yet, the most conspicuous character. His power and authority were rendered boundless by the showing of a commission from Charles, which he at last confessed was a forged instrument. He assumed the title of "The O'Neill," and was styled by his followers earl of Tyrone and king of Ireland. Ferocity lent terror to his name; but this character is considered to be overcharged by some judicious writers, who exonerate him from much of the blame incurred by his officers and followers. Hearing that some of his sept were repulsed attacking a fort, he ordered, it is said, the murder of all the English and Scots in three parishes. News came of the recovery of another; he flew to Armagh, and, in violation of the capitulation, set the town and cathedral on fire, and put a hundred innocent inhabitants to death. He hanged Blaney, the member for Monaghan, in his own garden. He is accused of having given orders for the murder of old Lord Charlemount, when he seized his castle; but his chaplain de-

clares that, on the contrary, he was so highly provoked by that villany, committed by some of his brutal followers, that he ordered six of the murderers to be hanged in February, 1642, upon discovering them. It has been said that the massacres commenced with the cold-blooded slaughter of 3000 unoffending catholics of Island Magee, a small peninsula near Carrickfergus. It may be observed that the population of that place were in arms from the first, and that they hardly could, at the time, have amounted to 1000. But the massacre is an admitted fact; it was perpetrated by some of the Scottish troops, among whom hatred of the Irish papists was a kind of mania; but whether before or after the surrender of Lurgan castle, on the 15th of November, the date of the earliest excesses of the Irish, cannot, perhaps, be determined with certainty. It is a point upon which the expression of the historian's opinion would do more harm than good. There are two truths which cannot be disputed: we have them in the words of Lord Castlehaven, a Roman catholic eye-witness; first, "Not all the waters of the sea could wash away the guilt of the rebels;" and secondly, "*(English)* officers took no care to distinguish between rebels and subjects, but killed in many places promiscuously men, women, and children." After such admissions, it is of little consequence which party perpetrated the first bloody deed; it will, however, be seen, that when the gentlemen and the priesthood were goaded to join in the insurrection, past atrocities were vehemently reprobated, and future prohibited under pain of excommunication, and the severities of civil justice.

The insurrection spread into Leinster and Connaught, and in December appeared in Munster. Some of the leading gentlemen of this province, whose intentions were unquestionably peaceable, remonstrated with the lord president on the violent and lawless proceedings of his brother-in-law. The functionary replied, that he "thought it more prudent to hang the best of them." Seeing no hope of redress, and justly apprehensive of

worse treatment, they broke out, and took Cashel. Here the soldiery committed some cruelties, but their leaders acted with much moderation and humanity. A jesuit, named Saul, carefully protected Dr. Pullen, chancellor of Cashel and dean of Clonfert, who, with his wife and family, had fallen into the hands of the insurgents. It is truly gratifying to be able to state, that there are on record many noble and touching instances of clemency, justice, and magnanimity in the conduct, not only of the public leaders, but of private persons of their party.

Sir Phelim, whose successes in Ulster had begun to ebb, marched to besiege Drogheda. He defeated a reinforcement destined for that town, at Julianstown bridge. This victory produced such consternation, that his way to Dublin lay open. His army was also strengthened by whole regiments who had deserted from the royal standard. The population of the Pale, of both creeds, remained faithful; the principal men offered their services to the justices, requesting a supply of arms. The justices reluctantly distributed a few stand, and called them in immediately after. Many loyal persons, being thus left unprotected, were forced to join the rebels. Sir Phelim pressed Drogheda; but Sir H. Tichbourne, a brave soldier, coming with a reinforcement of 1000 men, took the command of the garrison. Having failed in an escalade, O'Neill determined on starving them into a surrender; and ere long they were obliged to eat horses, dogs, and cats. At length the marquis of Ormonde came to their relief, with 3000 foot and 500 horse; at whose appearance O'Neill broke up the blockade, which had continued three months, and fled back to the north with a precipitation not very heroical. All the horrors of military execution were now felt by the prisoners who were brought up to Dublin. Many revolting scenes took place within the walls of the city. The justices employed the rack to extort confessions; even Ormonde had to protest against some of the cold-blooded murders perpetrated under their eyes.

An extensive defection now took place among the

Roman catholic lords and gentlemen of the Pale, produced, it is said, by some ominous threats let fall in the English parliament, and by the proceedings of the lords justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, bitter, truculent, and rapacious puritans. Those lords disregarded the summonses of the justices, requiring their attendance for the purpose of a conference on the state of the kingdom. Lord Gormanstown, governor of Meath, instead of complying with the summons, issued a warrant to the sheriff of his county for the calling of a general meeting of it. The meeting assembled, and was attended by several influential persons. During its proceedings, Roger Moore, with an armed band, presented himself. Gormanstown demanded why he entered the Pale in arms. "To maintain the king's prerogative," replied Moore, "and to render his subjects in Ireland as free as those in England." They were satisfied with this answer, and agreed to join him.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHARLES I.—CONTINUED.

THE clergy now came prominently forward to countenance the insurrection. The primate O'Neill held a synod at Kells, which declared it to be "a pious and lawful war," and denounced "the usurpers of other men's estates." A general synod met at Kilkenny, May 10th, which decreed, that whoever refused to aid the cause, or remained neuter, should be excommunicated. It was also resolved to solicit foreign aid. A frame of government was established: the component parts were an upper and a lower house; a council of twelve for the administration of justice in each county; provincial councils; and the supreme council of the confederate catholics, composed of twenty-four persons, having for their president lord Mountgarrett. This nobleman had gained, in the parliament of 1615, the favour of king James. In 1619 his estates and lucrative privileges had been secured

to him; yet was he "forced," as he says, "into the general cause by the example of those, who, as innocent and free from infringing his majesty's laws as himself, had been used in the manner of traitors."—(*Letter to Ormonde*, March 25, 1642.)

The general assembly, chosen according to the decrees of the synod held in May, commenced its sittings in Kilkenny, October 24, 1642. As soon it was fitly organized, one of its first acts was an humble petition to the king's most excellent majesty. The petitioners declare themselves his faithful, loving subjects, and use throughout very warm professions of allegiance to his sacred person. They reprobate the popular outrages which disgraced the beginning of the revolt, and promise to punish the perpetrators; they also, on the other hand, set forth the cruelties and indignities to which their countrymen were subjected. They denounce the misguided notions of those who calculated on shaking off the English yoke. They abjure the title of parliament for their assembly, declaring that the calling of that great body was a prerogative inseparable from the crown. They avow their fixed purpose to observe the common law of England, and such Irish statutes as were not contrary to their religion. They crave inquiry into their grievances; security for their estates and liberties, according to British law; and the free exercise of their religion. Finally, they promise to put their forces at the king's disposal, in case their prayer be granted.

Provincial generals were chosen: Owen O'Neill for Ulster; Preston for Leinster; Garret Barry for Munster; Colonel Burke for Connaught. An official seal was adopted: in the centre a cross, with a crown on the right side, and on the left a harp above it; below, a flaming heart, surrounded with the words, "*Pro Deo, Rege, et Patria, Hiberni unanimes.*" A coinage was struck: the pieces had on one side a king playing on a harp, with a radiant crown on his head, and over it the imperial crown of England, with the motto *Floreat Rex*. The confederates drew up a form of oath, by which they swore to defend

their religion and liberties, to hold faith and allegiance to their sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors; to defend him and them against any attempt on their persons, honours, or estates; and to maintain the royal prerogatives, and the privileges of parliament, against all who should, directly or indirectly, endeavour to invade them.

Such was the position, and such at least the ostensible objects of the confederates, when all those Irishmen who had obtained distinction in foreign services, to the number of 500, crowded from the Continent to join in the coming struggle. Of these the most remarkable were Owen O'Neill and Colonel Preston. Owen, though not in the legitimate line, yet was unanimously chosen "The O'Neill," upon his landing in Ulster, Phelim having been unceremoniously set aside. Preston, brother of Gormanstown, had served in France for many years, and was an officer of courage and experience. Confidence and enthusiasm spread, and the whole nation rushed into the conflict.

The first encounter between the confederate and the puritan forces took place at Ballinakil, in the Queen's county. Monck, afterwards celebrated as the great instrument of the restoration, relieved the place, and defeated a detachment of the confederates at Timahoe. Immediately after, Preston, who was at the head of 6000 foot and 600 horse, besieged and took the castle of Burros, now *Borris-in-Ossory*, in the King's county. Subsequently he reduced Birr, Bannagher, and Fort Falkland, and, in a short period, all the strong places in that county.

Ranelagh, the lord president of Connaught, abandoned the province, and fled with his troops towards Dublin. Preston, who was brave in battle, but rash and impatient in provoking it, attacked him at Rathconnel, and was repulsed by a much inferior but desperate body. Upon the flight of the president, Captain Burke seized Clare-Galway castle.

Dublin was at this time threatened with famine. The

provisions sent by sea to victual it, were intercepted by the few small cruisers which the confederates had chartered. Their ports were Wexford and Ross. To seize these, Ormonde set out from the capital with 3000 foot, 700 horse, and six pieces of artillery. On his way he besieged the small castle of Timolin, garrisoned by 80 men, who resisted till it was on fire and in ruins. They were allowed to march out, and then butchered in cold blood. Ormonde proceeded to Ross, the defences of which were in a wretched state; but the brave garrison repulsed, for five days, the repeated assaults of overwhelming numbers, till the news of Purcell coming up from Cappoquin caused the besiegers to retire. On their return towards Carlow, where they had left their reserve, they were intercepted at Temple Wodigan, about two miles from Ross, by Preston, with 5000 horse and foot. Between the two armies was a bog, half a mile long, where no more than four horses could go abreast, with water up to the belly. Through this bog Ormonde should pass or starve; but Preston, ever precipitate and incautious, instead of waiting for the enemy's advance, crossed over to meet and accommodate him. The unfortunate confederates were raked with cannon as they waded over; charged and broken as they arrived; and utterly routed before a body could form considerable enough to make an effectual, or even respectable resistance. The victors, elated at their fortune, made good their way to Dublin. Soon after, Preston battered down the castle of Ballinakill, and thereby restored to Mountgarret his property.

The king's affairs in England being now in a very unprosperous state, he began to look towards Ireland with some expectations. The remonstrance of the first general assembly came to his recollection. He issued a commission under the great seal, January 11, 1643, to the marquis of Ormonde, the earls Clanricarde and Roscommon, the lord viscount Moore, and others, to inquire into the complaints and demands of the confederates. Into the king's communication the justices surreptitiously intro-

duced some offensive and alarming expressions, so that, when it was presented to the supreme council, it was proudly and properly rejected. Upon maturer consideration of the temper, treachery, and interests of Ormonde and the puritanical justices, the royal message was entertained, and the council appointed a conference to be held at Trim, the 18th of March. When the justices discovered the loyal disposition of the catholics, they formed the project of driving them to uncontrollable frenzy. They directed the execution by martial law of Lisagh O'Connor and Garret Aylmer's son, who had been made prisoners at the battle of Rathconnel; and, moreover, sent Ormonde to attack Ross, while mock negotiations of peace were going forward, at which this false, vain, and intolerant man should have been present. Nevertheless, the remonstrance of grievances was received by the commissioners, who forwarded it to the king.

In the early part of this campaign lord Castlehaven and his cavalry greatly distinguished themselves: he routed colonel Crawford at Monastereven, and afterwards major Verney and Sir M. Emlé, and relieved Kilkenny from all apprehensions. Such were the activity and courage of the national commanders and their forces, that all the strong places in Leinster had been captured in a few months.

In the north, Owen O'Neill occupied and fortified Charlemount. He had a narrow escape of being taken by surprise while out hunting. He was beset by Munroe's men, who were beaten off by his small retinue.

At this time Charles began to see into his justices; Parsons was superseded, and Sir Henry Tichbourne put in his place.

After the lapse of six months, the general assembly met, for the second time, on the 20th of May. Their prosperous position induced the courts of France and Spain to send them envoys, and Pope Urban VIII., an agent with money and munitions of war. They appeared more deserving than heretofore, in the eyes of Charles; and Ormonde was empowered to sign an armistice with them for twelve months, or any shorter period. There

was some debate about this truce; but Ormonde had its consideration postponed, and he appeared in arms against the confederates a few weeks after.

But now success seemed to court the confederate generals wherever they turned. Owen Roe, already in possession of the north, marched triumphantly through Westmeath. Preston bore down all opposition in the King's county, and made himself master of the strong places and positions in Leinster. Bourke reduced the fortresses of Galway and Oranmore. Castlehaven, Barry, and Purcell swept over Munster. The best commanders of the enemy were beaten, cooped in, and starved. Moore, Dillon, Willoughby, Clanricarde, Vavasour, Howell, Inchiquin, and Monck, were defeated, dispersed, and disheartened. Little remained for conquest but Cappoquin and Lismore. The confederates were making preparations to besiege them, when news arrived that Ormonde was settling a truce with the supreme council. He was compelled to revive this unpleasant subject, by the miserable condition to which he was brought; for if he could ruin the confederate government, he little cared what ruin he brought on the unfortunate, forlorn king. Sir P. Percival gives this account of Ormonde's prospects:—"The state and the army were in the greatest distress. The streets of Dublin had no manner of victuals many times for one day, so that the soldiers would not move without money, shoes, and stockings, for want of which, many had marched barefooted, and had bled much on the road; and others, through unwholesome food, had become diseased, and died."

But before he concluded anything, he made a disgraceful effort to extricate himself from an irksome necessity. He proposed in writing to the citizens of Dublin, "that if £10,000 could be raised, the one half in money, the other in victuals, to be brought in within a fortnight, he would break off with the treaty, and proceed with the war." The vile duplicity of the most noble marquis failed in this direction, for the burghers were too poor; but it beat up for more propitious quarters.

Most of the great folk of the Pale were his relations or dependents; with these he practised. He gave out that the present parliament was to be dissolved, and a new one called in November, and that he was authorized by his majesty to assure the catholics of his benevolent intentions. This artifice succeeded: a truce, to last for one year, was signed by the catholic commissioners in Ormonde's tent, at Sigginstown, Kildare, on the 16th September, 1643.

When the news of the truce reached Charles, he appointed Ormonde lord lieutenant. The installation, with all the ceremonies, took place January 20, 1644. "The old Irish" had no faith in Ormonde; "the Irish of the Pale" deluded themselves with big expectations. These two were the parties into which the confederate leaders were divided; but they were afterwards known by other names.

There was much delay in gathering the supplies that were destined for England. The instalments of the £30,000 in money and beeves, that had been agreed on, came in slowly. The men, who were willing enough to enter the service of France or Spain, showed the greatest reluctance to join Charles in England; the truce was felt as a stunning blow, and had already paralyzed their spirit.

At this time Munroe, whose Scottish forces amounted to 20,000 men, received a commission from the parliament as commander-in-chief of all Ulster, and an encouragement to break the truce, which he was not slow to do. The supreme council complained of his perfidy to Ormonde, but to little purpose, for the lieutenant secretly approved of any accident or design that tended to disturb or distress the national party. Scarcely did Cromwell himself do more damage to the monarch than did this great duke of Ormonde, by his shuffling and bigotry.

The lieutenant encouraged a confederate deputation to the king at Oxford, with a statement of claims and grievances, and a petition for redress; and immediately after another from the puritans, at the head of which was Sir Charles Coote, who prayed his majesty "to continue the penal laws, to banish all popish priests out of

Ireland, and to enable them to build in every county walled towns in which no papist should be allowed to dwell." As to the extent of the king's liberality, he was willing to remove from the Roman catholics the incapacities to purchase lands or offices; to allow them their seminaries of education; to call a new parliament, without, however, repealing Poyning's law, and to abstain from enforcing the penal enactments. It is probable he would have been more generous, had his language been that of volition, instead of restraint and fear.

Openly disregarded as the terms of cessation were in the north by Munroe, they were still more scandalously violated in the south by the merciless Broghill, and the more sanguinary and base Inchiquin, who drove all the papists out of Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale, "allowing them to take no more of their goods with them than what they could carry on their backs" (CARTE). In spite of the strenuous efforts of the supreme council, those flagrant and unwarrantable cruelties were sometimes retaliated, but feebly and ineffectually.

In consequence of the poverty and distress to which the country had been brought, it was impossible to raise the entire aid in men or money promised for his majesty's service. But troops to the amount of 2500, after a delay of three months, caused by apprehensions of the English cruisers, were embarked to reinforce Montrose, by the marquis of Antrim, at Waterford and other ports. These so signally distinguished themselves against the covenanters, as to attract the notice and special commendation of Charles.

The cessation, which expired in September was extended to the first of December, and afterwards further prolonged. To forward his disloyal intentions, Inchiquin effected a truce with Purcell to April 10, 1645. O'Brien now began to tamper with lord Esmond, governor of Duncannon fort. A report spread that it was to be surrendered to the parliament. Preston was ordered to take it, which he did, after a gallant resistance for ten weeks. By command of the king, fresh attempts

were made at a settlement. The confederate delegates and Ormonde again met to parley, and as vainly as before. This perverse, dishonest man concealed the extent of his master's good intentions, and accordingly his overtures were rejected.

At the close of the truce with Inchiquin, Castlehaven, at the head of 5000 foot and 1000 horse, marched against him, and quickly made himself master of all the strong places in his possession. At the taking of Ros-tellan castle, Inchiquin's savage brother, Colonel H. O'Brien, fell into the victor's hands. The earl himself was driven to Cork, where he shut himself up.

The English parliament, seeing the exigency of the times, subsidized the covenanters of the north; reinforced Munroe, who had sworn to the solemn league; appointed Coote to the presidency of Connaught; and ordered the reduction of Sligo. The place surrendered to Sir Robert Stewart. The whole country was overrun; Ormonde's president, Clanricarde, in vain strove to check the victorious and inhuman parliamentarians.

Charles, at last, became sensible that the bigoted Ormonde was not a fit agent to treat with the Irish. Accordingly he sent over, as envoy, lord Herbert, afterwards earl of Glamorgan, a Roman catholic. On the arrival of this nobleman, who had been invested with full powers to negotiate on the king's part, a treaty, mutually satisfactory, was concluded between him and the confederates. In return for little more than the free and public use of their religion, and the enjoyment of the churches they then possessed, the confederate catholics engaged to send 10,000 men, under Glamorgan, for the defence of the throne. It was deemed prudent to keep these arrangements private, till the king could safely avow them on the arrival of the troops in England.

At the close of the year, the earl of Thomond, who had remained neutral, gave up Bunratty castle to the parliament; upon which Limerick revolted, and joined the confederacy.

Belling, the secretary of the confederates, had been

despatched on an embassy to Rome, where he arrived in February, 1645. He was received with distinction by the pope, Innocent X., who appointed John Baptist Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, as nuncio for Ireland. This prelate proceeded on his mission by way of Paris, where he expected an interview with the queen, Henrietta Maria, who, for security, had fled thither. Various obstacles prevented the interview. At first the queen declined it as being contrary to the law of England; then she could not, by reason of her royal rank, receive the nuncio unless uncovered; and this great officer at the same time learned that he could not uncover himself to a queen. It is supposed she had substantial motives for keeping aloof. False notions had been created in her mind as to the ultimate objects of the Irish. She had been taught to look on them as rebels, who took advantage of her husband's difficulties to extort from him concessions which were destined to be turned against him at a favourable opportunity. She was also apprehensive that the pope projected some invasion of the royal prerogative. Between these parties, however, by means of Sir Dudley Wyatt, who had brought over news of the defeat at Naseby, some communications took place, which ended in nothing. After a delay of three months, Rinuccini embarked at St. Martin, in a purchased frigate of 26 guns, bringing with him a considerable supply of muskets, swords, and powder.

The nuncio was received, with great pomp, in Kilkenny, the 13th November, 1645. Discussions about the peace were now entered on with great earnestness. The assembly soon became divided into two parties, the Nuncionists, or "old Irish," and the Ormondists, or "moderates." Two sets of negotiations were carried on: the one openly with Ormonde, which the "old Irish" deemed unsatisfactory and degrading; the other secretly with Glamorgan.

Glamorgan, son of the faithful marquis of Worcester, was married to a daughter of Henry, earl of Thomond. He had a warrant from the king empowering him to

pledge the royal word for the ratification of all such engagements as he might deem advisable to make. He held also letters from his master to the pope, the nuncio, and the catholic powers. The warrant and letters in the king's handwriting, "signed Charles R., from our court of Oxford, 30th of April, 1645," were presented by the earl to Rinuccini. Nevertheless, the latter entertained doubts of the king's sincerity; but it was the contingency, upon which the fulfilment of the royal promises depended, which most alarmed, or seemed to alarm, the cautious diplomatist. The king was not to be bound unless 10,000 Irish troops arrived to him for his service. Glamorgan may die, the ship may be wrecked, and then the king would be exonerated. These apprehensions are so silly, that they have all the air of pretence. It is much more likely that Rinuccini caught up the popular enthusiasm, which had been raised to the highest pitch by the arrival of a nuncio from the pope; or, which is equally probable, the warm Italian and zealous priest was more enthusiastic than the Irish themselves, and joined with them in trusting to their own sword, instead of uneasily depending on the king's pen.

The decision of the nuncio was taken without much delay. He saw, indeed, that it was fruitless to waste time with Ormonde, or remain at the mercy of the manner and the drift of his proposals and proceedings. Procrastination was exhausting the ardour of the people; whilst it was giving the enemies opportunity to repair their damages and increase their resources. He resolved on an immediate campaign. His mind was scarcely made up, when, about the 1st of January, 1646, the two commissioners, who had accompanied Glamorgan to Dublin to arrange about the levies, returned to Killenny, bringing intelligence of the arrest of Glamorgan, on a charge of high treason, by order of Ormonde.

When the archbishop of Tuam was slain at Sligo by the Scots, on his person were found copies of all the royal documents relating to Glamorgan's mission. These were placed in the hands of Ormonde, who affected the greatest

alarm, and had the earl seized and imprisoned in the castle. He pretended also to think the whole, forgeries. The confederate assembly threatened Ormonde with breaking off all conferences, unless Glamorgan were released; Kildare and Clanricarde bailed him out on £40,000, January 22.

Whilst the assembly continued to be distracted, debating Ormonde's peace, a new element of strife presented itself. The terms of a fresh treaty, which included the English catholics, were drawn up between the pope and the queen, and forwarded to the nuncio, who advocated it with immense warmth, while several of the laity mistrusted it, as the queen had no authority; and the Ormondists denounced it as a fiction.

These contentions wearied all parties. An accommodation was, at length, brought about. On the 15th of February a committee conferred with Rinuccini "for reconciling differences;" and on the 18th Glamorgan ratified the articles between the pope and the queen, without prejudice to political intercourse with Ormonde. On the 28th of March a collateral treaty was signed by the marquis, on the king's part, and by Muskerrey and others on the confederates'. This treaty was infinitely more advantageous in civil and political points than the previous one; but was not so acceptable on the score of religion. Amongst other great boons, was a stipulation to revoke the plantation of Connaught and six great counties: a revocation which would have restored to their properties hundreds of ruined gentlemen and ancient families.

Rinuccini and the council, reduced to nine, now set advantageously to the important work of restoring and invigorating the military affairs of the nation. He reconciled Sir Phelim and Owen Roe. He brought forward his munitions and his money, a great portion of which was from his private purse; for, whatever were the faults of the nuncio, his intentions were good, and his soul was generous and lofty. Order and strength soon held sway where confusion and weakness had pre-

vailed. Nothing seemed wanting to crown the busy and prudent exertions of this active administrator, but Invernizi with his fleet of light cruisers.

Of the contingent assured to Charles, 6000 men were drafted with all possible despatch from the provincial regiments. They were just ready to embark at Waterford, Wexford, and Duncannon, when intelligence arrived that the pusillanimous and dishonourable king had disowned Glamorgan as far back as the 29th of January. The capture of Chester by the parliamentarians, which was the next news, deprived the Irish of a landing place. Rinuccini was overjoyed. At this juncture the troops could have been of no use in England, and he badly wanted them. Three hundred of them followed Digby into Scilly, where he abandoned them, and fled to Paris. Here he used to amuse Henrietta with the "absurd pretensions" of the Irish, while she, in return, denounced the pontifical treaty, of which she had been the principal promoter. Ormonde's star was ascendant.

While these events were passing, Coote was pillaging and murdering in the plains of Roscommon and Galway. Clanricarde requested the lieutenant to proclaim him a rebel, but was refused. The interest of the latter lay with the puritans; if these were weakened, the papists would be irresistible; but the ruin of the papists would be productive of pleasure, and pregnant with confiscation. Ormonde's views were comprehensive—but himself was their centre; and his contrivances ingenious, but they paved the way to Whitehall, on January 30, 1649.

When Charles had fallen into the hands of the Scots, Ormonde experienced much self-complacency. The covenanters were the most hostile to a peace with the Irish, and he had taken care to give them little or no offence.

It was now the end of May, and Glamorgan had been employed since the early part of April in the siege of Bunratty castle, from which he was driven as far as Limerick by a sortie of the garrison. To supersede him

the nuncio appointed Muskerry, who reduced the place in twelve days, the archbishop himself conducting the operations as a first experiment in engineering.

Meantime Clanricarde, who was at last forced into unwilling and slovenly motion, having got Preston with three thousand men to act under him, checked Coote in the west; while Castlehaven with his cavalry prevented the barbarous Inchiquin from destroying the crops. But the chastisement of Munroe was destined soon to eclipse all previous victories, and to obliterate the engraved memory of previous defeats.

On the 5th of June, 1646, Owen Roe O'Neill, at the head of 5000 foot and twelve troops of horse, was encamped at Benburb. This position was well chosen: he lay between two hills; his rear was covered by a wood; his right wing rested on the river Blackwater; his sharpshooters were concealed by scrogs and bushes. He was also in possession of a bridge which crossed the stream. All preparations completed, the army solemnly devoted the morning to prayer and devout exercises.

Munroe, having reconnoitered his enemy, gallantly faced him. Both sides were agitated with similar passions of equal vehemence and intensity. Both were exasperated by past fluctuations of fortune, and impelled by the same spirit of hate and of vengeance. Both felt their cause to be good, meritorious, holy. The religious sentiments which possessed one party, pervaded the other; but with this difference, the worship which one sought to exterminate as the bane of mankind and the opprobrium of Christianity, the other sought to preserve as the balm of the soul and the incense most grateful to heaven. On the one hand, fertile fields and broad domains floated before the vision, promised rewards, and quickened the heart; on the other, homestead and fatherland presented the most affecting picture, imposing duty and inflaming devotion. Though the objects of the two armies were very different, the sentiments and resolution were almost identical. On such an occasion fear discovers no weakness in the heart; doubt, no access to it.

On this, the vastness of the stake inspired every soldier with a confidence in winning it, so he fought as if his last blow was to secure the victory. Such were the potent elements of this great battle; such the fierce incentives to slaughter; such the meed of success and the hope of glory.

The pass for the Scotch cavalry having been cleared by Lieutenant-Colonel Cunningham, a simultaneous movement of the whole army was made to dislodge O'Neill; but it was checked by the sharpshooters from behind the bushes. Munroe immediately opened a brisk cannonade, which O'Neill's excellent position rendered quite harmless. Repeated charges of cavalry were made with little success. They could not manœuvre or take a circuit, being cooped up by the river on the right, and the marsh on the left. The sun shone full in the face of the Irish; and the wind blew in the same direction: when they were not dazzled with excessive light, they were blinded with the thick rolling smoke of artillery and musketry. Under those disadvantages they sustained tremendous volleys for four hours; during which time they repelled incessant attacks of cavalry, made with an admirable dash. O'Neill knew that the descending sun would bestow some unwelcome salutations on the enemy. Resolved to imperil nothing by haste, he enjoined his men to endure; to hold their ground, and bide the evening. The Scotch general was for a considerable time merely exasperated with O'Neill's phlegmatic reserve, which he could not attribute to cowardice, for he knew his man. As it was still protracted, he began to have some misgivings, when a blaze of level light from the western skies helped him to pierce his adversary's meaning. A sudden shout from the Irish army, and the movement of their entire line, horse and foot, rendered O'Neill's tactics fully intelligible. Munroe sent forward a few squadrons to arrest the advance; but these were so well received that they speedily retreated, and were pursued by the confederate horse with great slaughter. Munroe was obliged to call on his reserve squadrons, whose

charge, furious and energetic as it was, was foiled, repeated, and foiled again. As O'Neill judged those squadrons to have sufficiently exhausted themselves, he despatched a detachment of cavalry to finish them. When this intention was satisfactorily accomplished, he moved forward his whole array of battle. It was now Munroe's turn to stand fast, and await the attack. The struggle was soon hand to hand, sword crossing sword, and pike thrusting against pike. For some time the contest raged with incredible fury and pertinacity. The left wing of the confederates, consisting chiefly of fresh levies, began to waver. O'Neill sent up a reinforcement from his centre; and at the same moment the Scotch commander threw upon it an immense body of dragoons. For these their infantry, who had just begun to show symptoms of weakness, opened a passage. But O'Neill had expected such a manoeuvre, and was sparing of his cavalry from the beginning. His ranks continued to behave so well, he was able to reserve the best part of his veteran troopers; and with these he calculated on turning the event in his favour. The instant he perceived the enemy's squadrons in motion, he ordered the greatest part of those veterans to support his left, where they had arrived in time to save it from being cut to pieces: they quickly routed the Scotch cavalry, and drove them through their own lines. The main body of O'Neill's horse had been instructed to pour down on the enemy's left, the instant the movement on their own was seen to be successful. At the critical moment they were in full charge. Till now the encounter at the centre was kept in suspense, by unquenchable valour on both sides; but the confusion of his wings had reached Munroe. O'Neill, by one desperate shock, overwhelmed him. This crowned the fortune of either wing, and the flight of the covenanters became general.

Munroe was driven across the Blackwater, in which a multitude perished. He left 3200 men on the field of battle; and in the pursuit of the two following days, he lost almost the entire remnant of his army. His guns,

tents, baggage, and thirty-two standards fell into the hands of the victors. Viscount Ardes and twenty-one officers were made prisoners. Of the confederate troops 70 were killed, and 100 wounded; a proportion much too small to be credible; but it is possible. In this engagement Sir Phelim O'Neill well sustained his credit as a soldier; but exhibited his habitual ferocity in having given no quarter. The news reached Limerick June 13th. On the following Sunday the standards were carried in grand procession to the cathedral, where the *Te Deum* was sung in presence of the supreme council and all the civic authorities.

After this brilliant success a puzzling variety of negotiations ensued. Ormonde would not assent to the publication of Glamorgan's articles; while his friends, "the moderates," desired to have them published at the same time with the political articles of the 28th of March. The nuncio was opposed to those articles, as they were not explicit and comprehensive on religious matters, and denounced the policy of trusting to a shuffler while they had swords in their hands. He scorned to beg as a favour what he could enforce as a right. He had long lost faith in the marquis and his master. The supreme council ultimately thought it advisable to publish Ormonde's political articles, and to suppress the treaty with Glamorgan. When the confederate commissioner arrived in Dublin, he was informed by Ormonde that he had received instructions from the king "to proceed no further in the treaty of peace." Charles's letter bore date, Newcastle, June 26. Notwithstanding this, we find the king again entering into correspondence with Glamorgan. Charles told him to raise money by pawning his kingdoms; that he would repay it, if ever he recovered them; that he would do so though all others despised him; and that he desired to fall into the hands of the nuncio. To invigorate all this, he gave it the fellowship of an imprecation: "If I do not say this from my heart," he prays, "may God never restore me to my kingdoms in this world, nor give me eternal happiness in the next." Those who

pity Charles—and shame on him who does not—find it hard to believe that the charge of duplicity brought against him is true; but here, in those transactions with the pope, the Irish, and Glamorgan, we have the most convincing proofs of mean duplicity, of unblushing and cruel perfidy. Coeval with this letter was another to Ormonde, declaring that “he should not proceed any further in the treaty of peace with the Irish.” And that for the future the word of a king may never be believed, Charles sent lord Digby to Dublin to swear that the Newcastle letter was a forgery. In all these negotiations falsehood had the start, and falsehood won the race. The schemes of Ormonde were successful; the articles of peace were signed with him; and the power and functions of the confederacy were virtually at an end. By all their struggles and sacrifices the confederates gained nothing but a release from the oath of supremacy. Henceforth they were to “be commanded by his majesty’s chief governor until settlement by act of parliament.”

CHAPTER XIX.

CHARLES I.—CONTINUED.

THE peace was ill received; its proclamation by the Ulster king-at-arms was prevented midst the turbulent violence of the people and the indignant clamour of most respectable citizens in Limerick, Waterford, Clonmel, and Galway. All Ulster, and the “old Irish” of Leinster, rejected it with scoff and scorn. The nuncio called a synod at Waterford to discuss the terms; which, after six days’ deliberation, were unanimously condemned. The damnatory decree was published on the 12th of August; and on the 9th of September, Owen Roe, with 13,000 men, encamped at Roscrea, to support it.

After a fruitless pilgrimage through Munster, with a view to collect favour round his articles, Ormonde, who

had had a narrow escape of seizure by Owen Roe, returned to Dublin. On the other hand, encircled with military array, and backed by Owen Roe and Preston, the nuncio entered Kilkenny, September 18th, 1646. His first act was to imprison the old council.

A new council, consisting of four bishops and eight laymen, with the nuncio as president, was appointed. The necessity of possessing Dublin was one of their earliest convictions. Ormonde, having learned this, strengthened and extended the fortifications, and increased the garrison from the ranks of the king's enemies. At this juncture the uneasiness of the council was excessive. There was reason to believe that Ormonde would deliver the capital to the parliamentarians, rather than it should fall to the Irish. The fidelity of Preston was suspected; and between him and O'Neill there were jealousies and mistrusts. Early in November these generals began to converge on Dublin. When they joined, their forces amounted to 16,000 foot and 1,600 horse, while the garrison of the city was but 6,000. Had the place been suddenly and vigorously attacked, it would have fallen the first day. This course, however, was not pursued. Proposals were sent to Ormonde, who rejected them with disdain. Time was lost. The winter was excessively severe. Privation added to the intolerable asperity of the season; for the lieutenant had taken the cruel precaution to lay waste, in good time, the surrounding country. The feud between the chiefs grew daily worse: each suspected the other of a plot to cut him and his army off. In this state they had been idling or jarring before the fortress for twelve days, when a council of war was held to deliberate on an immediate advance. The question was on the point of being determined, when news arrived that an English reinforcement had entered Dublin. This was the signal for activity; and accordingly the generals and their troops threw aside their bickerings, and hurried home! Yet it was a false alarm; for, though the transports were in the bay, the troops were never admitted.

During three days that the nuncio remained at Lucan after the flight of the generals, various offers were made to him on the lord lieutenant's part by the marquis of Clanricarde. Ormonde was ready to admit Preston's troops to garrison the capital, provided they joined him to force the peace on the confederate council, the terms of which were to be based on Clanricarde's former program, in which nothing was visible but a *promise* of the repeal of the penal statutes *till* the king could declare his royal sentiments in a free parliament. To the free exercise of religion the lieutenant would never consent, and without this the nuncio would take nothing. Ormonde's constant refusal of this boon is almost the only consistent part he acted in these transactions; and yet he did not act this part on principle. He hated the Irish thoroughly, and the papists much more; but he would have easily postponed his hate to his interests. Wile, and shuffling, and mendacity like his could not be accompanied by principle. His motive in withholding toleration is plain enough; from the beginning of the troubles he saw the danger of gravely offending the puritans, and he well knew that these wild bigots would regard the granting of free worship as the least pardonable of human offences. His policy, though double, was simple and consonant. He held by the Irish to ruin them; by the puritans, to profit by them; and by the king, as long as a particle of his power or prerogative remained from which he could derive an advantage. During the civil wars there were a few defections from the royal cause, but none so infamous as Ormonde's.

To detach Preston from the confederacy had been long the darling aim of Ormonde, who had already tried all the resources of reptile craft to effect his purpose. But an emergency now arose, which presented artifice with a new and most promising opportunity of exercise. The parliamentarians were at hand, and threatened Dublin. What more natural than to seek aid from loyalty, wherever it was to be found, even from among the "old Irish,"—at least from those under the command of Pres-

ton. It is hard to say whether this man wanted sagacity, steadiness, or honesty most; probably he was alike deficient in all three. At all events, we can safely arrive at these conclusions: if he did not see through the designs of Ormonde, he was little better than a fool; if he did, he was a rogue; if his disposition was too facile and fluctuating, he was dangerous to his real and to his pretended friends, and perhaps more so to the former than the latter. But of his claim to the qualities mentioned, those about him must have been the best able to judge; and they so far suspected his sincerity that they at one time deliberated on impeaching him. Such was the leader whose secession from his party Ormonde had often been on the point of accomplishing. He now succeeded. Clanricarde was chosen to manage the business; and with him the alliance was arranged, and a day appointed for Preston and his army to take up quarters in the city. Whatever may have been his real sentiments, the general perceived that this was the safest and fairest opportunity which had ever presented itself of acting in concert with Ormonde. But this cautious dealer was doomed to be disappointed; the eloquence, the arguments and the entreaties of Rinuccini prevailed against his machinations. The general was persuaded not to fulfil the engagement. Instead of meeting Clanricarde on the day stated, he sent him a letter excusing his inability to carry out the contract.

The sturdy priest forthwith set out for Kilkenny, along with the general, between whom and O'Neill he effected a reconciliation. The failure before Dublin was agreeable news to the imprisoned members of the council, as it promised them a speedy deliverance. A general assembly of the kingdom was called, and they were released in opposition to Rinuccini's advice.

Though the news which scared away the besiegers on the 13th of November, as to an English force having been admitted into Dublin, was not an absolute fact, yet it is true that transports with such a force, accompanied by parliamentary commissioners, had anchored in the bay

on that day. Negotiations between those gentlemen and the lord lieutenant immediately commenced; but, as the parties could not agree, the troops and supplies were sent to the Scots in Ulster. The citizens of Dublin were so sore at the failure of these negotiations, that they stopped contributing to the pay of the garrison. Naked and hungry, these were marched in a bleak, inclement season, into Westmeath, to search for sustenance. There, it is probable, they would have been destroyed by one of the confederate armies, but for a cessation brought about by the dexterity of Muskerry, the relation and very sincere friend of the lieutenant.

As yet the confederates had gained nothing in the way of settlement, or open exercise of their religion. It was the firm opinion of the nuncio that they never would, except by the sword. That his view was correct we learn from Ormonde's letter to the queen and the prince of Wales, in which, speaking of the exercise of religion, he says, "it might be free for his majesty to tolerate it, if he could see anything in them but *Irish rebels*." No wholesome or soothing measures could emanate from a source so strongly poisoned. All that Ormonde ever contemplated as a reward for the loyalty, blood, and treasure of the king's dutiful Roman catholic subjects, was a temporary connivance at their public worship. On the 11th of January, 1647, the confederated catholics were represented in the great gallery of Kilkenny castle, by two hundred and twenty-four commoners, and a considerable number of spiritual and temporal peers. Rinuccini opened the proceedings with an elaborate harangue which was loudly applauded. He excused the prominent part which circumstances had forced on him. The steps taken by the bishops were in accordance with the express will and the obvious interests of the people. He declared that for his own part he would be glad to be rid of the burthen of temporal affairs, as his inclination, as well as his pastoral duty, drew him towards religious concerns chiefly; but when freedom of conscience was at stake, he would not hesitate to encounter the

turmoil of politics, and to promote, by all his efforts, the appeal to arms as the right and duty of the nation in the last resort. Had the nuncio touched on no other topics, he would have done well; but unfortunately, when condemning the peace lately concluded by the commissioners, he let fall some severe animadversions on these selfish, important, and irritable gentlemen. Long as he was amongst them, he had not discovered that the Irish never relished the wisdom of brooking advice or censure, were never beaten in argument, or outwitted in a bargain. The gallery resounded with the energetic voice of self-defence. In justifying their proceedings, the commissioners took up for castigation the edict of Waterford, by which they were denounced perjurers. Three weeks were consumed in useless, aimless, and sickening debate on this subject, to the exclusion and nearly to the ruin of the legitimate and substantial business for which they were convened. Discord, the national deity, revealed herself to her loquacious and ireful votaries. Neither the love of country, nor the love of God, could mitigate their rancour, or repress their violence. Wrath, resentment, vindictiveness, vengeance, infuriated the assembly, already writhing under private calamities, and goaded to madness by the direst public wrongs. The tumult had arrived at the highest pitch, when the bishop of Ferns moved the impeachment of Preston for connivance with Ormonde and his faction. Then swords and daggers flashed through the storm. With difficulty the tempestuous elements were appeased by the interposition of Plunket, the chairman, and the influence of the prelates. The calm, however, was only momentary. Next day the contest was renewed, as fresh and vigorous as before, between the commissioners and the bishops; and for many a succeeding day the same wild and senseless proceedings devoured that valuable time which should be quietly devoted to prudent counsels, feasible undertakings, and common interests. At last, recrimination wore itself out with repetition and inconclusiveness. Mutual fatigue, and reciprocal

victory, imperceptibly brought about an armistice; so that, without being absolutely reconciled, the two parties began to co-operate. Accordingly, they agreed to let Ormonde know their intentions by a public manifesto; and they came to a unanimous resolution that the peace lately published was "invalid and of no force; and that the nation would accept of no peace not containing a sufficient security for the religion, lives, and estates of the confederate catholics."

In answer to this resolution, Ormonde insisted on adhering to the terms already agreed on; and concluded by asking £1000 per month for the maintenance of the royal troops; but out of 300 representatives, only twelve supported those terms. The prelates now enlarged their views. They drew up four articles, in which they prefigured more ample concessions than ever they had ventured to demand before; these being nothing less than the restoration of their church with respect to "jurisdiction, privileges, and immunities, to the same state it was in during the reign of the late king Henry VII." It now matters little what were the merits of those articles; but it is easy to see that they were then extravagant and impolitic. Nevertheless, they were carried almost unanimously. Whereupon two oaths were solemnly administered to the members:—The first was to preserve their allegiance to the king; the second, never to lay down their arms till the articles were ratified.

The confederates having learned that, on the 6th of February, Ormonde had written to the parliamentary commissioners, with an offer of delivering up to them his towns and garrisons, they hastened a temporary armistice with him, and immediately after sent agents to propose a junction of their forces with his. The conditions of this proposition were, that both armies were to act independently under their respective leaders; that the king's garrisons should receive the national troops; that towns should be put into their hands; and that the four immoderate articles should be accepted as indispensable provisos. Ormonde, who had been long feel-

ing his way with the parliament, and who now saw that his market-day was at hand, with a certainty of an improved price for his commodity, rejected the propositions contemptuously.

Hope fled to arms, and zeal to activity. Order was instantly taken for every need of the confederate service. Provincial generals were appointed; the army was re-organized and recruited; and the national resources strained to the utmost for their pay and equipment. Besides the ordinary contributions, it was agreed that the clergy should give an eighth of all fruits and chattels, and the laity a tenth. The plate of private dwellings, the furniture of the churches, the chalices of the altars, the shrines of the saints, were turned into coin for the loyal and patriotic army. Ulster and Connaught were entrusted to Owen Roe; Munster, to Glamorgan; and Leinster, to Preston; whom all suspected, but whom the executive feared to set aside. Yet, at this point of time, the aspect of popular affairs was not cheerful. In whatever direction the eye turned, nothing wore a smile. Lands were untilled, crops destroyed; the treasury was still void; the finances had not yet fallen into that easy posture and uniform motion, which are found necessary to their improvement; in the north, parliament reinforced Munroe; in the south, fury let loose Inchiquin; while in the council the contentious spirit congenial to its elements, was ever irritated and inflamed by the promptings of mean personal jealousy. The lieutenant influenced one party; the nuncio drove the opposite. Between both the country was torn to pieces; the king brought to the block; the law spurned; and the constitution overthrown. On all sides anarchy, robbery, and slaughter rioted without restraint; nor was there any change in this hideous face of things till the smothered moans of desolation and terror issued from every court, cabin, and cavern, in the afflicted land.

Had Ormonde entered into a cordial and liberal compact with the confederates, he would have been irresistible. No force that the parliament could have brought

into the field would have been a match for him, supported by O'Neill and Preston. He must have been perfectly aware of his master's imminent danger, and perfectly confident of the success which would have attended the co-operation of such commanders leading two powerful armies, and countenanced by all the principal men in the kingdom. A few victories would have terrified the puritans, and, in the opinion of the shrewdest speculators on those times, would, at all events, have saved Charles's life.

As neither Ormonde nor Rinuccini would modify his terms a jot, each had to choose a different course. The former sheathed his sword, and slunk off to the enemies of the throne; the latter boldly drew his, and struck a blow true to the people, and true to their king.

Early in April Ormonde closed with the English rebels, and, contrary to the king's express commands, admitted their troops into Dublin and Drogheda, then generally called *Tredagh*. Immediately after the confederate assembly took up; but, before doing so, fixed the 12th of November for their next meeting.

On the 10th of April the truce expired, and Preston took the field. He opened the campaign with the capture of Carlow castle. He then proceeded to Munster, to join Glamorgan against Inchiquin, who had got possession of Duncannon, Cappoquin, and Dromana. At this moment an opportunity presented itself of trying Ormonde once more. Under the name of Grant, Dr. Leyburn, one of the queen's chaplains, had come over from her majesty with instructions for the lord lieutenant. When the despatches were presented to this faithless functionary, he coolly declared to Leyburn that he would rather surrender the places under his command to the English than to the Irish rebels. Notwithstanding this rebuff, the messenger had still hopes of effecting a reconciliation between Ormonde and the confederates. Concealing from the latter his disappointment and chagrin, he succeeded in inducing them to appoint him commissioner for the negotiation of a truce for three weeks.

Ormonde complied with the proposal very gladly, for he was certain of reinforcements from England within that space. During Leyburn's absence, the confederates learned that the lieutenant had already received into his garrisons more than 3000 of the parliamentary troops. On his return, they told him they suspected the motives which influenced Ormonde to consent to so short a cessation, and proposed one of six months, provided no more rebels were introduced into the garrisons during that period. Ormonde was in a position enabling him to decline these conditions, so he stood apart. Whilst those matters were taking place, Rinuccini was busy elsewhere, looking after ecclesiastical matters. At his return he admonished Leyburn of the utter impossibility of coming to a satisfactory understanding with the lieutenant.

The delay, negligence, and inaction caused by these fruitless conferences, gave Inchiquin the opportunity of overrunning half of Munster. Glamorgan was without orders, and without pay for his troops. Mutiny also was in his ranks, in consequence of the removal of Muskerry from the command of his own province. Insubordination was at its height, when, on the 12th of June, Muskerry, with apparent carelessness, rode into the camp. His old soldiers received him with loud acclamations, and deposed Glamorgan. Muskerry soon after resigned his authority to the incompetent lord Taaffe, another tool of Ormonde's. The former, by this transfer, was enabled to be constantly present in the supreme council, and to trouble it with his plots and traversings.

When Ormonde learned that the king had been sold to the parliament, he thought it high time to sell himself to the same traitors, whose commissioners had arrived in Dublin bay on the 7th of June, 1647, with a large body of troops. He concluded a treaty with them on the 19th; surrendered the sword of state on the 20th of July; waited for his bribe of £5000 till the 28th, when he received it, and a promise of £2000 a year; and then set sail for England. Having there for some time faced

the scorn of all parties, safety, as well as shame, caused him to withdraw to France.

Colonel Jones had been commissioned by the parliament to receive the surrender of Dublin. No sooner was he in command of the garrison, than he made preparations to open a campaign against O'Neill. Having sent orders to Coote to join him, he marched at the head of 4000 men, through Swords, Hollywood, and Garretstown, to the hill of Skreene, where he pitched camp, and was reinforced by the troops from Drogheda and Dundalk, which raised his strength to 12,000 foot and 700 horse. Here news reached him that Preston, with 7000 foot and 1000 cavalry, was at Portlester, five miles from Trim, whither he marched next day. But Preston had broken up his camp, and was advancing towards Kilcock, with the design of placing himself between Jones and the capital. He was, however, hotly pursued. On the morning of the 8th of August, at ten o'clock, he was attacked in his well-fortified position on Dungan hill. At the end of two hours' manœuvring and indecisive skirmishing, Jones advanced to the foot of the hill, having met but little obstruction from the enemy's ill-served artillery. Preston, who had never learned the use of prudent delays, and who never derived any advantage from those nice and subtle tactics which are so often the prelude of victory to an inferior force, ordered Colkitto (Alexander Mac Donnell, of the Isles) to charge down the hill, instead of waiting for the inconvenient ascent of his adversary. This intrepid captain was steadily received, and quickly repelled. The reiteration of his attempts met with no better success. The terrible and destructive assaults were resisted with enduring valour, and finally repaid with double havoc. Colkitto, with whose temper such exploits agreed, and whose heroism was rather roused than daunted by the impossible, was no sooner worsted than he returned to the attack with undiminished audacity. But the efforts of the proud, enthusiastic soldier, were all in vain. He was still beaten, broken, and forced to fly, with slaughter infesting his

rere, and confusion helping it every where. But, though he did not come off with victory, he did with glory; for, to the admiration of friend and foe, charge after charge was made without any support from the cavalry. Preston had placed these troops in a judicious position; but the ground was marshy. This error was not corrected in time, and consequently proved fatal. When the steed was spurred, the impetus plunged him, fetlock deep, into the swampy soil. Jones saw their plight. He sent forward a strong body of his dragoons, who just came up when about one-half of the others had formed. The encounter was short. Preston's cavalry were overwhelmed, and literally hunted from their marsh to the nearest bog, as their only security against being cut to pieces. But it was a fatal refuge. A large reserve force, which had been forwarded for their relief, fled along with them. All were instantly hemmed in by horse and foot, raked by cannon, and shot down by musketry. Preston, astounded, paralyzed, made a fierce attempt to restore the day; but his bravery added to his misfortunes, without redeeming his errors. He was no more successful in rescuing his reputation than in rescuing his army. This was so beaten and broken in every direction, that heart or discipline was nowhere to be found. The field of battle, and the surrounding plains and marshes, were covered with 5470 confederates, dead or dying.

On Dungan hill, in the very encampment of Preston, after the lapse of a week, we behold Owen Roe O'Neill. The cringing creatures of Ormonde had to seek him whom they despised, reviled, and plotted to destroy, as their last hope, when they hourly expected to hear the thunder of Jones bursting through the gates of Kilkenny. The denunciations of Muskerry and the Butlers were changed into beseeching and entreaty. O'Neill was besieging Enniskillen, when the bishop of Ferns, commissioned by the supreme council, came to his camp, imploring him to protect them against Jones. The forgiving and gallant chief instantly obeyed the call. In a few

weeks he occupied, with 12,000 men, Preston's position on Dungan hill. Here his superior generalship and unwearyed activity, not only baffled Jones for four months, but forced him to keep within his lines for the best part of the time. Jones, at last, fled to Dublin to escape a surprise of which he was in constant apprehension; and O'Neill pursued as far as Castleknock.

But in Munster the complexion of affairs was disconsolate enough. There the commander-in-chief was a blundering, silly braggart. This was lord Taafe, whose only recommendation to this high post was his being the creature of the hooded snake, Muskerry. Taafe commanded a fine army of 12,000 foot, 800 horse, and a park of artillery; yet this imbecile suffered Inchiquin, with a much inferior force, to roam at large through his province, taking the strongholds every where; shooting down garrisons who had surrendered, even on terms; devastating the whole country, and putting to death helpless old men and women. From the conduct of the two generals, it would seem as though they avoided one another; and, as they studiously abstained from collision, they have been strongly suspected of collusion. Be this as it may, the fall of Cashel will always expose Taafe's memory to the opprobrium of treachery. He had received timely information that Inchiquin was marching on that city. Having placed in it a weak and scanty garrison, he withdrew with his whole army, and left the place at the mercy of the sanguinary Murrough O'Brien, earl of Inchiquin, who murdered the garrison after having laid down their arms, murdered the citizens in their houses, and murdered the defenceless multitude that had fled into the cathedral for sanctuary. The victims of this wholesale butchery amounted to 3,000, among whom were twenty priests, slain under the very altars of the cathedral. The firing of the ancient city supervened the fatigue of slaughter.

A little before this tragical event, Cahir, the best fortress in the south, fell into the hands of Inchiquin, much in the same way; at all events, by such want of precau-

tion in regard to its defence, as amounts to presumptive evidence of perfidy—perfidy pretty well demonstrated by the last step of Taafe's political career.

The strong places were terrified by the fate of Cashel, and opened their gates to the destroyer as he approached. But Clonmel was held by Colkitto and one of his own hardy regiments, and refused to surrender. Murrrough was daunted. He would rather have tried his sword on an English coat of mail than on a Scotch plaid. He thought it prudent, if not chivalrous, to retire, and "seek somewhere else a more orthodox kiss." He soon returned to Cahir to enjoy an interval of rest, while Taafe, with 7000 men, moped about the county Cork.

Being uncertain when the president of Munster would call Kilkenny to account, the council instructed Taafe, in the middle of October, to institute proceedings against him. It is not improbable but that "the Quixotic Connaught general" gave the president a hint; for we find him in the field in the first week of November, before Taafe had shown signs of life. The president encamped at Mallow, where he continued so long courting the advance of Taafe, that the latter had no help for it, but to put by his coyness, and deliver battle. His head-quarters were at Kanturk, within a day's march of the president's camp. He broke up on the 12th of November, 1647, and encamped in the evening on Englishman's hill, a few miles from Mallow, and within view of the enemy.

On the next morning at 11 o'clock the clang and clamour of warlike preparation resounded through either camp. Within an hour the order of battle was arranged on both sides. After surveying each other for a time, it was seen that Taafe's position was so advantageous it was not likely that he would quit it, notwithstanding a very considerable superiority in infantry, his being six thousand, while his adversary's was but five. Inchiquin threw out some companies of sharpshooters and squadrons of horse, to try the temper of the enemy. When these were repulsed, and support forwarded, Taafe's officers brought off their men to their former position. For a

whole hour Inchiquin endeavoured, by various feints and evolutions, to invite or provoke the engagement, but all to no purpose. Some English officers of rank, who were familiar with a shorter way of coming to blows, recommended him to visit Taafe on the hill. This inconvenient mode of reaching that commander, Inchiquin for the present declined, having hit on a more ingenious expedient to bring about an exchange of civilities. He rode off to his tent, sat down, and indited the following invitation, which was despatched to Taafe at one o'clock:—

“My Lord,—There is a very fair piece of ground betwixt your lordship’s army and ours on this side the brook; whither, if you please to advance, we will do the same. We do not so much doubt the gallantry of your resolution, as to doubt you will not come; but do give you this notice to the end, you may see we do stand upon no advantage of ground, and are willing to dispute our quarrel upon indifferent terms, being confident that the justice of our cause will be, this day, made manifest by the Lord, and that your lordship’s judgment will be rectified concerning your lordship’s humble servant,

“INCHIUQUIN.

“Garryduff, Nov. 13th, 1647.”

To this note no answer was returned. Inchiquin, therefore, was under the necessity of advancing. He marched up the hill, and established a battery on the right side of it, without any protestation on the part of gentle Taafe. The position commanded the Scotch and Irish, numbering 3000, under Colkitto; and two regiments of dragoons under lieutenant-general Purcell. A destructive fire was opened on these troops. Colkitto, having seen the uselessness of waiting for these murderous discharges, marched upon the battery. When he came up to it, the musket was dropped, and the claymore brought into action. His success was instantaneous. Quick as lightning he fell on Inchiquin’s left, which he put to flight, and pursued for three miles with immense

slaughter. Meantime Inchiquin himself was attacked by Lord Castleconnell, whose regiment met such a reception, that it hastily broke and ran. Taafe, with 4000 infantry and all the cavalry reserve, commanded on the left. All these made a sudden effort to overtake the flying column. What part their general took in the fight does not appear, except that he strove to rally the fugitives, and that he cut down some of them with his own hands. Having failed to check an ardour which mistook its proper direction, Purcell's cavalry rushed after the infatuated infantry. Colkitto and his men, on their return from the exhausting and bloody pursuit of the left wing, were encountered by a powerful detachment that had not yet been employed, and exterminated, the brave officer himself having been one of the first to fall. The confederates sustained, in this discreditable affair, a loss of 1500 men.

Every occurrence of this fatal day suggests suspicions of foul play on the part of Taafe. He made no attempt to prevent the enemy from taking up a dangerous position. He allowed them to plant their battery without molestation. He sent no support to Castleconnell's regiment, the sudden flight of which is in itself exposed to an unfavourable interpretation. His own troops were little, if at all, engaged. We have no account of Purcell's cavalry beyond its expeditious escape. Even Inchiquin's billet tends to create suspicion. Such an air of absurdity has it, under the circumstances, that it is difficult to conceive it was written with any other motive, than that Taafe, having read it to his haughty and hot-blooded officers, may be able to propose to them the acceptance of the invitation, under the pretence of vindicating his own honour and theirs against the taunting insinuations of O'Brien.

CHAPTER XX.

CHARLES I.—CONTINUED.

OF the supreme council little remained now but the shadow. Ulster, which used to be represented by sixty-three members, returned only nine; and so of other places, though not to such an extent. The Ormondists looked upon this falling off with satisfaction, since it gave them a majority in the assembly, while it shored the nuncio of all his strength and glory. This faction seemed wanting in nothing for their success and consolation, but the ruin of Owen Roe; as yet, however, they found he could not be dispensed with. If Inchiquin felt a motive to visit Kilkenny, none was fit to receive him there but O'Neill. If Jones formed the design of obtruding himself into the chamber of the supreme council, there was none so likely to hinder him as the same sturdy and indefatigable warrior. But this detested man was to be avoided, as long as there was the slightest chance of aid from any other quarter. A fond eye was again turned towards England and Charles; but while Muskerry and his friends were discussing of terms, accommodations, and missions, news came that the king was a prisoner in Carisbrooke castle. The moderation of the assembly expired suddenly. The king could do nothing; the parliament never would do anything but hang the papists; or, if touched with romantic tenderness, mulct them, confiscate their estates, or drive them into doleful exile. Nothing reflected a ray of heaven's light but the glittering sword. With one consent the whole population was summoned to arms. Even temptations to join the national standard were held out to Inchiquin's officers and their men. The clearest wisdom, and the soundest understanding, when distracted by misfortune and despair, often give way to unpromising and extravagant projects and suggestions. Accordingly, the council suddenly caught up the wild and perilous chimera of a foreign protectorate; but they were ever at a loss to de-

termine which would be the best shield—the pope, or the king of France, or the king of Spain.

To the respective courts agents were appointed. As these were some of the leading members of the council, their places were filled up by gentlemen chosen so as to represent equally the two discordant sections into which the governing body had been divided from the beginning. To increase its influence, and to provide against the incommodity of necessary or unavoidable absence for private affairs or health, forty-eight supernumeraries were added to the assembly. This great augment was so adroitly managed by Muskerry, that the whole were in his interest and Ormonde's. It seems strange to speak, at this period, of the interest of Ormonde as connected with the assembly. It will make the matter plain to state that the lieutenant, even when leaving, cherished lively hopes of a return not very distant; that he gave assurances of this happy reverse of fortune; and that his adherents steadfastly reposed in those assurances.

The envoys to Rome were French, bishop of Ferns, and Nicholas Plunket, who had served as speaker and muster-master-general; those to the court of Versailles, Muskerry, Brown, and the earl of Antrim, in place of the bishop of Clogher, who, depending more on O'Neill's "red hand" than on the hands of France and Rome together, refused to go begging abroad.

On the 13th of May, the French deputation was honoured or amused with a vague reply from the queen in person. It was prompted by Ormonde, who had been some time in attendance on her, infecting her mind with mistrust of the Irish catholic subjects. She promised them, however, that she would soon send them a person fit to receive more explicit propositions from the confederates, and that this person should be instructed and authorized in whatever was consistent with his majesty's honour and justice. The deputies had little trouble in guessing who the person was to be; perhaps they had known before they left home that he was to be no other than the marquis of Ormonde.

Before their return to Ireland, Inchiquin had broken with the parliament. This body was at once needy and parsimonious; and neither their penury nor their principle suited the Irish freebooter. Lucrative employment was what the earl wanted, combined with a fair share of irresponsible authority, to give it a more agreeable relish. He complained that he had not been sufficiently furnished for the maintenance and pay of his army. As his puritanical employers did not gratify his greed, he took the field for that purpose; but with the secret determination to slip from them the moment he could dispense with their alliance. The earl had no precise notions of honour; the purple light of ingenuous shame never visited his cheek; and as for sensibility to reproach, he deemed it a mean plebeian weakness. He never at any time evinced the slightest aversion to the most detestable atrocities, even when he hoped to reap little by them. Between his love of plunder and the hatred he bore his countrymen and their creed, he acquired an infamous name in his own time, which has found its way to the present through the strength and continuity of traditional execration. This was the character who now meditated on returning to his allegiance at a profitable opportunity.

Inchiquin entered upon his projects by a demonstration before Waterford, which was without result. From this place he burned his way to Kilkenny, where, however, he was unexpectedly met and foiled by Owen Roe, who had withdrawn from the neighbourhood of Dublin. O'Neill, having put the earl to flight, made an offer, through the nuncio, to the supreme council, then sitting in Clonmel, to march into Munster, and occupy the quarters lately held by the lord president, Inchiquin. The council declined; they preferred the destruction of the northern chief to the damage of the southern, with whom, by this time, it is probable that they had some understanding. The hate and fear these gentlemen bore the former were greatly aggravated by the landing of the dean of Ferns, with money for Rinuccini, and a compli-

mentary letter and blessed sword from the pope, for O'Neill. The council pictured to themselves the Ulster hero proclaimed by the bishops, acknowledged by the people, and crowned by the nuncio, king of Ireland.

Their fears were suddenly alleviated. Colonel Barry landed from France with a message to them from Ormonde. They sent Barry a safe conduct, and he appeared to inform them that Ormonde had a secret commission from the king to treat with Inchiquin. This was grateful news, and the council lost no time in acting on it. They wrote to Murrough, who did not vouchsafe an answer. This course may have been attended with danger. Through one of Ormonde's creatures, who was in his interest also, he communicated to the council that he was ready to do service under them for 4,000 dollars a month. The bargain is struck; and the scene changes, or, rather, a new drama is about being represented.

Proclamation was made throughout the country for a meeting of the confederates at Kilkenny on the 20th of April, 1648. The nuncio was summoned thither; but he thought it safer to write than to go; for he had discovered some obscure danger to O'Neill and himself from an intercepted despatch of Inchiquin. In his epistle he employs every entreaty and impassioned appeal, and exhausts every argument, against the treaty with Inchiquin. A firm and argumentative reply was returned to his communication. Though the arguments did not convince him—none could have convinced anyone who entertained his views—the assurance that accompanied them, that nothing should be done “without his entire satisfaction,” removed his reluctance to attend the assembly.

The 20th of April arrived, and the nuncio appeared. The treaty with Inchiquin was quickly opened for debate. The political part gave rise to little discussion. It was otherwise with the two articles concerning religion, which were drawn up by O'Brien himself, and from which he would not recede one jot. The tenor of these was—that no confederate catholic, so long as the truce should be observed, should suffer any injury in the free exercise of

his religion, from the lord Inchiquin or any of his adherents, "always excepting that it be not practised or exercised in the garrisons or quarters of the said lord Inchiquin; and that the property of laics and clerics in their absolute possession should be secured to them, and continue to them without any detriment, provided they submit to this agreement, and do not decline to pay the taxes, and that they contribute to the public cause." It must be confessed that the toleration conceded by these articles was narrow, precarious, and insulting, even if viewed in reference to that period. The nuncio, as may be expected, scorned such a boon; left the assembly with grief and indignation; and never contaminated himself by a renewal of his intercourse with parties who cherished neither personal pride, nor national sentiments, nor hearty loyalty.

Fourteen bishops and the majority of the clergy declared against the treaty, and they were supported by O'Neill and the popular inclination. Opposed to the bishops, O'Neill, and their foe, Jones, were Clanricarde, who had been neutral till now, and Inchiquin, Preston, and Taafe.

But O'Neill had become a feeble auxiliary. His army had dwindled away for want of means to pay and maintain it. Deprived of his temporal sword, the bold and unbending nuncio drew the spiritual one. The truce had been signed but a week when Rinuccini had affixed to the gate of St. Canice's cathedral a sentence of excommunication against all who should obey the truce or abet it, and an interdict against all cities, towns and villages into which it should be received. The excommunication and the interdict were published April 27, 1648. Early in the morning of that day, Rinuccini secretly departed from the city. He repaired to Maryborough, where O'Neill was with only 700 followers. By letter he had first informed that chief of his fixed intention to abandon the fated country. As his departure could not be undertaken immediately, he continued with Owen in the town. During his stay, an offer came from the confederates,

many of whom were not "excommunication proof," and most of whom began to dread the popular wrath, to cancel the peace, if he would advance £10,000. It is most probable that this was a device to originate a parley; if so, it succeeded. An answer, in the shape of certain propositions, was returned to the council. At the end of twelve days this very deliberative assembly sent back the propositions so modified as to run no chance of meeting the approbation of the original proposers. During the delay Preston was mustering his forces, and preparing to surprise the Ulster general. The very day on which the nuncio and O'Neill received the modifications, a messenger rushed into the room where they were conversing, with the intelligence that Preston, marching at the head of 10,000 men, was within four miles of them. Preston, however, being ignorant of O'Neill's strength, did not advance, and allowed the prize to escape. The friends separated with heavy hearts. Rinuccini turned towards Galway. O'Neill fled to the north, where he soon raised an army of 10,000 foot and 1,500 horse.

While in Galway, the nuncio resolved on a last effort. He summoned a synod of the bishops who were of his mind, to meet him there July 15. Two regiments were sent by O'Neill to conduct them, but Clanricarde had all the passes guarded. The synod never met. The nuncio did not embark for Rome till February 23, 1649.

Ormonde landed at Cork, September the 29th, 1648. After some delay, caused, as usual, by the discussion of terms and the adjustment of differences, it was agreed that the marquis should meet the general assembly at Kilkenny. That body received him with every manifestation of respect, and all the show and state they could command. They conducted him in a triumphant manner, midst loud acclamation, to his own castle, and there installed him with becoming gravity and no little pomp. On the next day they proceeded to deliberate on the terms of a peace. When these were settled in the manner most likely to be acceptable, they entered into negotiations with him, which went smoothly, and were soon

brought to a conclusion. The treaty was published on the 17th of the following January. By some it was hailed with triumph and rejoicing; to many it brought such comfort as the wretch feels who is taken from the rack; but most looked upon it as a melancholy disappointment, a premeditated fraud, or a mortal blow.

The ratification virtually closed the assembly, which was never more a national convention. The supreme council languished for a while—creatures of Ormonde, a sorry group of selfish partizans, void of principle, full of pretence; strong in promising, weak in performing; tepid in their loyalty, and more dangerous than traitors.

The recent treaty was almost as liberal and explicit as that propounded by Glamorgan. It was approved by several bishops, by many of the inferior clergy, and by most of the better classes. But it did not accomplish that for which it was intended—the safety of the king. The concessions were made too late; Ormonde's intolerant spirit yielded too slowly. A fortnight after Ormonde signed the treaty, Charles I. was beheaded as a tyrant and traitor, January 30. A twelvemonth before, on that day, Ormonde had landed at Cork.

Ormonde exerted every energy to rally the royalists. He mustered an army of 11,000 men, and attempted to blockade Dublin, defended by the republican general Jones; but having been defeated in the battle of Rathmines, near that city, he was forced to withdraw to Drogheda. He was engaged in a treaty with O'Neill, who, in a fit of rage against the ill-grained supreme council, had joined the parliament; and was preparing a fresh attempt on the metropolis, when Cromwell landed there, on the 15th of August, with 9000 foot and 400 horse. Cromwell immediately besieged Drogheda, which was defended by Sir Arthur Aston, a Roman catholic Englishman of good reputation as an experienced officer. Part of the garrison were English cavaliers. Oliver encamped on the south side of the city, Monday, September the 2nd; and, having all things in order and readiness, opened fire on the 10th. His artillery was abundant, and efficiently served.

Early in the afternoon two practicable breaches were made; one, east, in the wall of St. Mary's churchyard, and the other, south, in the town-wall. The storming parties pushed forward at 5 o'clock. The breaches were soon entered by about seven hundred men; but inside them earth-works had been raised, from which were poured forth such well maintained and precisely directed volleys, that the assailants were compelled to retire. They quickly returned to a second attempt, by which they succeeded in establishing themselves within the works. The besiegers brought in their cavalry through the church, and by the south breach came to the foot of a great ancient tumulus, then called the mill-mount. The sides of this mound were defended by strong palisades, which supplied a formidable resistance. Repeated attempts to carry them failed; and both combatants suffered severely. Quarter was at last offered, and the brave defenders, thinned and exhausted, and seeing resistance of no avail, yielded to the offer. But Aston, the governor, and the officers of his staff, obstinately refused to surrender. They well knew that Oliver considered terms made under such circumstances as not binding, being obtained from a party not altogether free and in the enjoyment of volition. They retreated into the mill on the top of the mound, where after having been disarmed, they were despatched. Of the garrison only thirty got the benefit of the terms, and those were transported to Barbadoes.

Cromwell returned to Dublin, September 16. He remained about a fortnight, and then marched southward with 9000 men. On his way through the county Wicklow, he seized several places of little note. On the 1st of October, he sat down before Wexford, which he summoned on the 3rd. Colonel Sinnott, who had command of the town, managed to protract a parley to the 5th, when a reinforcement arrived of 1500 Ulster troops, sent from Ross by the marquis of Ormonde, and these doubled the strength of the garrison. Sinnott now sent word that he would not surrender. For the next five days the preparations for the attack were carried on with

energy. Early in the morning of the 11th, Cromwell opened the cannonade; and by noon several breaches were visible in the defences of the castle. Sinnott beat a parley, and obtained a safe conduct for his agents to treat on honourable terms. But the terms were pronounced "abominable" by Cromwell, who contrived to corrupt one of the agents. This was captain Stafford, commandant of the castle; and he bargained to surrender it. Its gates were soon opened to the enemy, and its guns pointed against the town. This position enabled the besiegers to cross the wall by means of scaling-ladders. They entered the town thus easily and unmolested, and opened its gates to their troopers. For an hour the garrison displayed "a stiff resistance," which was punished by the indiscriminate butchery of civilian and soldier. Rank or office found no respect; sex, no distinction; old age, no mercy; the babe at the mother's breast, no pity. Such are the mad effects of religious zeal, when not directed and tempered by Christian charity, for whose large bosom the love of all mankind is scarce sufficient.

To give this massacre a military importance and dignity, two thousand victims were sacrificed; and Cromwell, who knew how his services were to be measured and paid, was careful to report that number to his employers. As a further proof of his efficiency and earnestness, he assured them that "of the former inhabitants not one in twenty could be found to challenge any property in their own houses."

He then took Ross, and invested Waterford. Ormonde hastened to its relief, strengthened by the forces of Owen O'Neill, who was himself unable to be present, in consequence of an illness of which he soon after died at Cloughoughter castle, in Cavan.

In the first seventeen centuries of the Christian era, the most remarkable Irish princes are Brian Boru, Feidlim O'Connor, and Owen Roe O'Neill. These are equally distinguished for bravery, military talents, and great commands; but in other respects there is little resemblance between them. Their names are respectively and

chiefly associated with the battles of Clontarf, Athenry, and Benburb. If these great events do not excite such palpitating sympathies, or breathless wonder, as Marathon, Cannæ, and Zama do, it is because they were fought under very different circumstances. To this other causes may be added, such as the bald memoranda of our annalists, and the dull narratives afterwards compiled from them. We have had heroes, but no historian.

Boru and O'Neill were equally fortunate in their famous exploits; but O'Connor lost the battle by which he gained his memorable name. Boru perished after a glorious victory, and O'Connor after a defeat scarcely less glorious. The former crowned a distinguished career; the latter was on the point of initiating a more illustrious one, when death brought it to a sudden close.

The king of Connaught fell at the age of twenty-three; so that it is impossible to place him in proper contrast with the other two princes in any points, except those already noticed. It should not be omitted, however, that each was a true type of his province, then and even now. The Ulster prince was wily, wary, and persevering; the Connacian, impetuous, petulant, and disputatious; the Mononian, ambitious, arrogant, and vain. The long space of three centuries between the first two, and of three more between the last two, does not appear to have made any essential changes in their provincial or national characteristics. So few blemishes can be discovered in the moral features of those eminent personages, that we do not wish to have our pleasure lessened, or our pride checked by too close an examination of them; but we cannot avoid seeing the usurpation of O'Brien, and the temporary defection of O'Connor and O'Neill.

In the knowledge of military affairs O'Neill was not only greatly superior to any of his own countrymen, but perhaps little inferior to his celebrated contemporaries, Condé and Turenne. He entered the service of Spain at a time when the French and Spanish wars raged with unceasing fury; and he was always on active service, and under the ablest captains. In him the

mental soil was rich and deep; so that his opportunities were seeds of skill that quickened rapidly, and produced abundantly. But, besides, he had a natural passion and peculiar genius for the profession of arms. In the sword he saw his only patrimony, and he resolved to cultivate it. While yet young, he was thoughtful and studious. He read military history, campaigns, and sieges to such an extent, and with such nicety, that he was no indifferent tactician before he entered the service. It would be absurd to compare him closely with any of the great Continental generals. On his coming home he had neither Spanish nor French troops; neither a large nor a regular army; his desultory levies were seldom more than half furnished; and, without any fault of his, they remained almost as ill disciplined as armed. In many respects a parallel may be drawn between him and the Cid, Rodrigo de Bivar. Their troops, their tactics, and their cause, frequently bear to each other a strong resemblance; but this likeness is, no doubt, marred by the disparity of the periods at which the heroes signalized themselves. We observe in both the same coolness, artfulness, and intrepidity, under very similar circumstances; but the Cid would have been greatly at fault at Arras in 1640, where O'Neill baffled and routed the French, and where, ten years after, Turenne defeated Condé. We cannot form a just estimate of the military abilities of Owen Roe from his mere achievements in Ireland; it is not exactly from anything he did we can judge of him; how he did it, and by what means he did it, are the elements which will lead to a just opinion of his bold and comprehensive genius. He was, indeed, sometimes beaten; so was Turenne at Cambray, Retel, and Mariendal; but of the Irish general it can be truly said, that he was never vanquished when he had the least chance of success.

O'Neill possessed an agreeable presence, and a manly deportment. His address was easy and courteous; but a politic reserve rendered it less kind and encouraging than otherwise it would have been. His manners were

polished, owing to long intercourse with the best society of the Continent, at a period when refinement had arrived at its highest pitch. He had received a good education, spoke four languages, and was not unacquainted with literature. His understanding was large and vigorous. He was averse to argument; yet, when brought to it, prompt and logical. His perception of abstract truths was rather correct than quick. So profound was his knowledge of character, that he was scarcely ever deceived by hypocrisy, caught by a snare, or surprised by the word or deed of any one whom he had ever the opportunity to sound. Without being open, he was candid. The circumstances in which he was placed required perpetual prudence, and he was never known to slip. That perspicacity which secured him so much advantage over those about him, whether in camp, in council, or in treaty, exposed him to the censure of being suspicious. His systematic closeness made his warmest friends think him so; whereas his behaviour in that respect was owing merely to a mistrust of their prudence. He came to conclusions very slowly; but once a conviction took root in his mind, scarcely any force could pluck it out. Yet his was not a stupid obstinacy: give him a better reason than his own, and he could yield with grace and gratitude. He was severe without cruelty, and stern without being harsh. Hate was not readily kindled in Owen Roe; but, when it was, the flame was intense and furious. If reconciliation with him was difficult, it had the merit of being entire, generous, and totally forgetful of the past. Between him and his people existed boundless confidence and affection. He had an utter contempt of personal aggrandizement. The Ormondists were always striving to spread a jealousy of his ambition; but the nuncio knew the purity of his aspirations. Naturally merciful, and being accustomed to the principles of warfare observed among civilized people, he used victory with a humanity not very pleasing to either party; since it disappointed the vengeance of the one, and was a grievous reproach to the habitual atrocity of the other.

O'Neill had his failings and faults, but no one will inquire after them in the public life of so eminent a man, and so great a captain; and in his private, they cannot be found; for in this, where the individual is best seen, he was, as Carte testifies, sober, moderate, and liberal.

Ormonde obliged Cromwell to raise the siege of Waterford; but his subsequent efforts were frustrated by the clergy, and the intrigues of Antrim, who aspired to be commander-in-chief. Lord Broghil prevailed on the protestant garrison of Munster to submit to the parliament. Kilkenny capitulated honourably. The reduction of Clonmel, after an obstinate resistance, closed Cromwell's rapid campaign in Ireland. He left his son-in-law, Ireton, to finish the war.

To prevent the enemy from crossing the Shannon, Ormonde asked permission to introduce a garrison into Limerick; but, as none but orthodox troops would be trusted, he was refused. His personal safety was now endangered, and he could do no more harm. He nominated Clanricarde his deputy, and gave up a cause which was chiefly ruined by the narrow bigotry and consequent mutual distrust of both parties engaged in it. The clergy now negotiated with the duke of Lorraine, but this prince suddenly broke off upon hearing of the successes of the republicans. Ireton compelled Limerick (1651) to surrender upon terms. Ludlow took Galway. Clanricarde, with 3000 soldiers, was permitted to enter into the service of any foreign state not at war with England. Ormonde and Inchiquin went to France. The triumph of the revolutionists was complete.

Cromwell appointed his son-in-law, Fleetwood, to the government of Ireland. Of the perpetrators of the massacres with which the great rebellion commenced, only 200 could be traced, who were sentenced to death. Forfeited lands were assigned for the reward of Cromwell's army and friends. The Irish were to be confined within Connaught, by the Shannon and a chain of garrisons. "To hell or Connaught," was the cry.

Upon the dissolution of the long parliament, the three

kingdoms were united into one Commonwealth, with one parliament, and Oliver Cromwell for lord protector. To this parliament Ireland was privileged to send thirty members. Henry, Oliver's son, succeeded Fleetwood as lord deputy, and gave great satisfaction in his mild and just administration. Upon Richard's abdication, Ludlow was chosen to command the forces here.

The Irish royalists seized the opportunity presented by the factions into which the republicans of England were split, and in one week made themselves masters of the principal places in the kingdom. As soon as the declaration made by Charles II. at Breda was published, he was proclaimed, and voted £20,000 by a convention sitting in Dublin.

Sir Phelim O'Neill, who was apprehended by Lord Charlemount's successor, was brought to trial, February, 1652. The parliamentarians were then in authority, and they employed every inducement to make him say that the commission which he exhibited as from the late king was authentic. Ludlow offered him life, liberty, and estate, if he would implicate Charles; but O'Neill, with manly constancy and generous integrity, refused a despicable existence, which was to be purchased by wrongfully staining the memory of an unfortunate monarch. Magnanimity will always be the greatest of virtues. This last act challenges an admiration which effaces the past.

CHAPTER XXI.

CHARLES II. TO JAMES II., A. D. 1660 TO 1688.

CHARLES II., 1660-1685.—Before Charles landed, the act of indemnity was so framed as to exclude all those concerned in the late rebellion, that is, the whole body of the Roman catholics. The declaration of settlement was afterwards passed into law by a parliament held in Dublin (1661), to which none but protestants were returned in the lower house; and from which the Roman catholic peers were excluded by a decree passed in the

upper, declaring that all its members should receive the sacrament from the hands of primate Bramhall, the speaker. The declaration of settlement gave precedence to the claims of adventurers and soldiers, and left the Irish little chance of recovering their property. Ormonde, upon his arrival as lord lieutenant, gave the royal assent to the bill of settlement, the execution of which was entrusted to English commissioners. This bill was superseded by one more equitable. Restitution, on the score of innocence, was claimed by 4000 parties; but of these only 600 claims had been decided, when the authority of the commissioners expired; the other claimants were ruined by factitious impediments. In the lieutenancy of lord Berkeley, the Roman catholics recovered some of their political power and privileges. They were admitted into corporations and the magistracy. These favours were attributed to a secret design on the part of the king and his ministers to restore their religion. The presenting of a petition to the king and council, praying for a restoration of their lands, and the appointing of a committee to examine the petition, alarmed the protestants, who enlisted the English parliament in their cause, and regained the ascendancy. Ormonde was re-appointed to the lieutenancy in 1677. Some time after he received a letter from the king, informing him of the expediency of many and great alterations, which, though restricted in expression to civil and military departments, are supposed to have been secretly meant to include religious matters also; but no alterations were made during the lifetime of Charles, who died February 6, 1685.

In 1679 an attempt was made to get up a popish plot in Ireland, similar to that which, at the same time, had been so wickedly imputed to the Roman catholics of England. No better account of it could be given within narrow limits than that which we find in Dr. Leland, and which we shall give in his own words nearly.

It reflected discredit on the popish plot in England that a year had passed before any evidence could be

found of a similar conspiracy in Ireland. The fears and suspicions of those who were most heated against the Roman catholics and the Irish, formed imaginary dangers. Invasion from France was expected, and information of such a design transmitted to England by the earl of Orrery. A ship was named that conveyed military stores and arms to Waterford; but, when the vessel was searched, salt was found to be her only freight. Those alarms, however, served to prompt and invite informers. One Bourke, a man of bad character, accused the earl of Tyrone of promoting an invasion, but the accusation was proved to be false and malicious. David Fitzgerald, a protestant, being on the point of trial for high treason, turned informer. As he stood his trial, and was acquitted, he promised to be a more reputable evidence than Bourke. He accused some respectable persons of an intended insurrection, who were brought over to London to be tried. As the law required more than one witness, others were sought for, and found among some needy and profligate priests. But a remorse of conscience seized on Fitzgerald; he acknowledged the falsehood of his accusation, and the accused were discharged.

The Roman catholic archbishop of Armagh, Oliver Plunket, a mild and peaceful man, who never took any part in political affairs, and recommended submission to the government, was not so fortunate. Upon charges brought against him by some of the inferior clergy of his own creed, persons of depraved lives, he was dragged to London. At first the informers were foiled by their own inconsistency, which must have been very glaring indeed, when the jury refused to entertain the indictment. Those wretches, however, reconstructed their accusation; they accused Plunket of having obtained the primacy upon engaging to raise 70,000 men, and to maintain them by the contributions of his clergy, whose entire revenue could not equip a single regiment. They swore that this body of rebels was to be reinforced by 20,000 troops from France, who were to land at Carling-

ford, the most inconvenient place that could be. Plunket, whose witnesses were detained in Ireland by contrary winds, could plead no defence but the improbability of the evidence against him, and the most solemn asseverations of his innocence; he was accordingly convicted of a crime, which, even if he had confessed, no one who knew the circumstances of Ireland could have believed. The resigned and venerable victim underwent his sentence of death, at Tyburn, July 1, 1681, with the serenity of a clear conscience, and the dignified composure of the Christian prepared to meet his end.

JAMES II., 1685-1691.—At James's accession, Ormonde was superseded by two lords justices, the earl of Granard and primate Boyle, who were staunch protestants. They were succeeded by Hyde, earl of Clarendon, who was replaced by the earl Tyrconnel, in 1687. The great object of enfeebling the protestant party, and strengthening the opposite one, was diligently pursued. The protestant militia were disarmed; protestant soldiers and officers dismissed, and their places supplied by those of the king's creed: in short, the same policy was adopted in every department, civil, municipal, military, and ecclesiastical. Protestants were universally deprived, and Roman catholics installed and promoted. Some idea of the extent of the changes effected may be formed from the fact that, in 1687, there was but one protestant sheriff in the kingdom. This was sharp retaliation with a view to ulterior objects; but it was only retaliation.

When Tyrconnel heard of the invasion of England by the prince of Orange, he withdrew the garrison of Londonderry to strengthen that of Dublin. Perceiving his error, he sent back 1200 men to reoccupy the former city; but the inhabitants, having become alarmed by some flying rumours, refused to admit them. Armed associations were now generally formed in the northern counties for the preservation of the protestant interest, and soon proceeded to proclaim king William. They were, however, overpowered, and forced to retreat within Derry and Enniskillen.

James arrived from Brest, in Dublin, March 23,* 1689, and was enthusiastically received by those of his own faith. He soon proceeded against Derry, of which major Baker, and Walker, a clergyman, had been chosen governors. His force was composed of 20,000 men, commanded by marshal de Rosen; the city was defended by 7,000; but its fortifications were bad, the stores scanty, the commanders without experience, and the cannon all badly mounted. De Rosen drove the neighbouring protestants under the walls, determined to keep them there, starving, till the city was surrendered; but James ordered their release, when informed of the cruel device. The besieged were relieved from their dangers and privations by the appearance of general Kirke in Lough Foyle, with two transports and a frigate. The Mountjoy transport broke the boom across the river; the three vessels sailed up to the town, and that night (August 11) the besiegers retired. The siege lasted 105 days, and cost De Rosen 8,000 men before he relinquished it.

A parliament assembled in Dublin, May, 1689, repealed—without any reserve in favour of *bond fide* purchasers, improvers, &c.—the act of settlement, by which two-thirds of the protestants held their estates; but this repeal, it must be allowed, was not a whit more cruel than the original act. All persons absent from the kingdom at the time of the passing of the repeal were attainted, by which the lives and properties of 2400 individuals were put in jeopardy. This parliament promulgated an edict for liberty of conscience, which must have been mere pretence, as neither party could endure the other. The fellows and scholars of Trinity College were expelled for refusing to admit one Green, a Roman catholic, but restored to office at the interference of the

* This date in the "old style," which has been retained up to the present reign (James II.), would be March 12. All the subsequent dates have been altered according to the Gregorian correction, which was not adopted into our calendar till October, 1752, when the first of the month was, by intercalation of eleven days lost by the Julian reckoning, made the twelfth.

bishop of Meath. As may be expected, the protestant churches were generally seized and held, notwithstanding James's proclamation ordering their restoration.

The duke of Schonberg landed at Bangor, in Down, with 10,000 men, on the 24th of August, 1689. After reducing Carrickfergus and some other places, he went into winter quarters in low ground, by which he lost nearly half of his army. King William landed at Carrickfergus June 25, 1690.

James left Dublin on the 27th of June, and marched for Dundalk. The Irish portion of his infantry consisted mostly of raw recruits, and these only half armed; his French auxiliaries were fine, trained, and well-equipped troops. The Irish dragoons were a noble body of cavalry; but they were not veterans, not even sufficiently disciplined. His artillery amounted to only twelve field pieces.

By a retrograde movement, James recrossed the Boyne July 9; and, having encamped on the right bank, in a strong position, he there awaited William, to dispute the passage of the river. Further up, the latter could have passed over without molestation; but it was his interest to come to a general engagement as speedily as possible. Accordingly he moved directly towards the king's encampment, in front of which he appeared on the 11th of July, the Boyne separating the two armies. The strength of the combatants has been variously given. By one account it was nearly equal on both sides: James led 33,000; William, 36,000. But the statement of the duke of Berwick, James's son, is perhaps more to be depended on. The duke was not only a gallant soldier, but an honest man,—remarkable for his regard of truth; and also he held a command on that memorable day. He informs us that William's troops amounted to 45,000, while the king's were only 20,000. The latter were under the duke of Tyrconnel, as commander-in-chief.

Shortly after mid-day, as William with a party of officers was reconnoitering, he had a narrow escape of his life. A six-pound shot grazed his right shoulder, but did no more harm than cause a slight abrasion of the skin.

At sunrise on the morning of the 12th of July, a division of William's army, consisting of 10,000 men, under the command of lieutenant-general Douglas, lord Portland, and Schonberg's son, were seen moving on the heights towards Slane. The Irish officers had foreseen this movement the previous evening, and had some difficulty in persuading James to send Sir Niall O'Neill, with his regiment of dragoons, to guard the pass of Rosnaree. The entire of the left wing, part of the centre, and Lauzun's French division, were despatched to defeat this attempt at outflanking, which would have been made by the most ordinary commander having at his disposal a great numerical majority. By the severance of this corps, accompanied by six field pieces, James's line of battle was sadly weakened, and his artillery reduced to a skeleton. O'Neill's cavalry obstinately disputed the pass of the river at Rosnaree, but they were forced to give way, after the loss of a great many men and their commander, who received a mortal wound. Notwithstanding this success, the Williamites were not able to obtrude themselves on the enemy. A ravine and a bog still separated the hostile divisions, who continued for the remainder of the day surveying each other at short cannon range.

At ten o'clock it was low water, and the time to attempt the fords at Oldbridge. A fierce cannonade was opened on the entire line of the Irish, who were able to give in return a scant and impotent reply. Count De Solmes, with the Dutch guards, then considered some of the best infantry in the world, was the first to try the river at the highest ford, that opposite Oldbridge, which was so shallow as only to reach the knee. The Enniskillen and Londonderry horse followed, and then the French huguenots, under Caillemot, Ruvigny's brother. These were succeeded by sir John Hanmer and count Nassau. The Danish troops crossed lower down; and the cavalry of the left wing, commanded by William himself, still lower, at the fifth ford, where the water was deepest. The channel was so choked by the multitudes wading through simultaneously at five different

points, that the peril was much increased by the rise of the water, which in many places overflowed the banks. The forming on the right bank was not effected till after severe and wasteful struggles.

At Oldbridge the contest was hot and manly: such as equalizes the vanquished and victorious, conferring the highest honour on both. Young Schonberg, in spite of the regiment stationed there, had taken the place, when Hamilton came up, with seven battalions, to recover it. The enemy were driven out by two battalions of Irish guards; but their cavalry passed by another ford, and attacked the guards with the irresistible fury of a tempest. The hands of death clutched and cut like those of a reaper: the stoutest fell under the rapid blades of those terrible swordsmen, like haulm beneath the sickle. But Berwick, under whom was the cavalry of the right wing, saw the havoc, and instantly his spur was in the ribs of the charger. His troopers made a furious onslaught; but, notwithstanding the impression produced by it, they were able to accomplish little more than the extricating of their battalions; for they were forthwith infested by a swarm of squadrons. Not alone in number was the combat unequal, but also in the nature of the ground, "which was very much broken, and where the enemy had slipped in their infantry." Nevertheless, Berwick, at the time only twenty years old, returned to the charge ten different times. Heroism so rare, so brilliant, met its meed; it was crowned by the victors themselves, if they would call themselves such. Confounded and surprised at such boldness, and full of admiration of a courage of which themselves were bright examples, the hostile cavalry halted and gazed, allowing young Berwick to reform his squadrons, and retire at a slow pace, thus magnanimously bestowing on him the credit of a drawn battle. When bravery has a home in the heart, generosity is sure of a share in the tenement.

The defence of the fords had been entrusted to Irish foot, very deficient not only in number, but also in equipment, the majority having been mere pikemen. Before

they received any support from their cavalry, they withstood for a longer time than could be well expected, even had they been better seasoned and appointed, the raking of a heavy cannonade, the fusillade of the covering musketry across a narrow stream, and the sabring of disciplined and daring troopers. Till they had been discomfited and disorganized, nothing was done to support them.

Sarsfield's horse served as the king's body-guard, and had no share in the action; James, perhaps, was more concerned for his personal safety than for the issue of the battle. As for the rest of the cavalry, they incurred no disgrace, except Clare's regiment and that of Dungan, which was disheartened in the very beginning by the fall of the commander. The struggle was not without its vicissitudes. There were defeats and successes on both sides, and of this the victors may be proud; for the laurels which are easily won do not long continue green. The Danish brigade was driven into the river by the Irish cavalry; and the huguenots, who also lost Caillémot, were several times repulsed. Duke Schonberg, though eighty-two, plunged in with youthful energy. He was rushing to rally the huguenot regiments, when the Irish guards were charging and breaking them. His presence and example restored order, and redoubled exertion. The guards were beaten off, and pursued with wide destruction. At this juncture the brave octogenarian, Schonberg, met his death. King James says he was "killed by an exempt of the guards, while crossing the ford," as he is represented in the tapestry in the Bank of Ireland. The earl of Portland, William's marshal-de-camp, relates that he was slain in Oldbridge by five of James's life-guards, who met him in their flight. Captain Parker says that the current and most probable report was, "that he was shot by a trooper, who had deserted from his own regiment about a year before." There are still other versions; but we think the king's most worthy of belief, for the old duke was of an eager temper, and longing to be forward. A little after this event, Dr.

Walker fell while crossing a ford at the head of his hardy Ulstermen.

For a long time the Irish horse of James's right wing kept in check the horse and foot of William's left and centre; but their efforts were favoured by the obstacles which the offensive side had to surmount. It was advanced in the day when William passed over, and placed himself at the head of the Enniskilleners, whom he flattered by taking them for his body-guard. By this time the king's troops wavered in all directions. The right wing was giving way every moment. On the left, the cavalry was almost annihilated. Exhaustion left the centre almost powerless. William, who was certainly an able captain, as well as a cool one, did not tempt the stream till he saw victory waiting for him on the opposite bank. Finding all things to his satisfaction, he gave orders for a general advance. In a few minutes more, the trumpets sounded the charge, which at the same time proclaimed the flight of the enemy, ignominiously headed by a prince, once as celebrated for courage and capacity as henceforth for his cowardice and imbecility.

The loss in this battle was about 1500 a side, killed and wounded. The first news of the day's disaster was brought to Dublin by James himself, who arrived there in the evening, and generously cast the blame on his Irish soldiers. Early on the following morning he set out southward; and, passing through Wicklow and Wexford, arrived at Duncannon, in Waterford, where he embarked for Kinsale. At this port a French squadron, provided by the queen, awaited his service, and took him to Brest, where he landed July 31.

CHAPTER XXII.

JAMES II.—CONTINUED.

WILLIAM entered Dublin, Sunday, July 17, to the infinite joy of the protestant inhabitants, attended service in St. Patrick's cathedral; and, in the evening, dined in his camp at Finglas. Meantime the retreat of the Irish army was turned towards Limerick. Kilkenny opened its gates to Ormonde on the 27th, and William supped with him in the castle on the 30th. Duncannon surrendered, and Waterford capitulated to the conqueror. The siege of Athlone, of which colonel Grace was governor, was commenced, July 28, by lieutenant-colonel Douglas, with an army of 12,000 men, and a good battering train. On the seventh day, the besiegers, having made no impression, retired to Mullingar, from which they proceeded towards Limerick, to join William, who was within seven miles of that city, preparing to attack it. His army was raised to 38,000 men by the advent of Douglas and Kirke. On the 20th of August he encamped in the south-eastern suburb; and, two days after, sent a summons to the governor, M. Boisseleau. A refusal was given, although the French division had been ordered out of the place as untenable, and sent off to Galway. In the garrison were 20,000 infantry, of whom only a half had muskets; and, beyond the river, 3500 cavalry, at about five miles' distance.

Information having been brought by a deserter, that William's battering train, with material and provisions, was approaching from Dublin, major-general Sarsfield conceived the design of intercepting it. He rode to the Clare camp, from which he departed by night with 500 chosen troopers. He halted on the northern slope of the Keeper mountain, where he awaited the information of his scouts. William, in the meantime, got a hint of Sarsfield's expedition, and despatched 500 horse to meet the artillery. But Sarsfield was before hand with them;

he had surprised the convoy, early the same morning they had set out from William's camp, cut them to pieces, and blew up the guns and powder magazine. To supply this loss, heavy guns were procured from Waterford; and on the 4th of September, the batteries opened on a badly-defended place, whose walls were threatening to crumble. On the 7th, a breach three yards wide appeared near John's Gate, and the assault was ordered. Under cover of ten thousand muskets, five hundred grenadiers, having fired and thrown their grenades, mounted the breach. But the French governor, who, from the obstinacy of the attack, foresaw the requirements, had cut a retrenchment behind the point, with sharp escarpments, abattis, and coupures with flanking pieces. The assailants dashed on boldly, and soon filled the covered way, terreplein, and salient place of arms. They fell quick and thick; yet a few brave fellows forced their way into the body of the place. After a fierce hand-to-hand conflict, they were overpowered, and the whole storming party driven back through the breach. At the renewal of the attempt, the women, as we are told by Storey, William's chaplain, hurled stones and broken bottles at the assailants. A struggle, evincing the most determined bravery on both sides, was maintained for three hours, without any decisive result, when one of the batteries was taken by the Brandenburg regiment. On one side a shout of triumph rent the air; on the other, spread the horrid silence of dumb dismay. The besiegers were pressing forward in crowds, exulting in certain victory, when they were stunned with a tremendous explosion. A mine was sprung, and the battery, men, taggots, stones, blown into the air. The assault failed; but the fire from the besiegers' batteries redoubled, and was kept up for the next three hours. At last, after severe usage, which was born with incredible fortitude, the troops were drawn off; and king William, full of chagrin and perplexity at the loss of 2000 men, retired to his camp. The trenches were abandoned on the 11th of September. William handed over the command to count de Solmes, and pro-

ceeded to Duncannon, where he embarked for England. By the count's death, which happened within a few weeks, his authority devolved upon De Ginkell.

Lauzun and his division returned home in a French squadron, which had arrived in Galway, just as the siege was raised. He was accompanied by Tyrconnel, who commissioned Berwick in his stead, and appointed a council of war, and another of regency. Envy and jealousy, the inveterate and immortal vices of the nation, that had been taking a short sleep, now awoke with fresh vigour, and excited those ignoble, scandalous, and fatal dissensions, which we are always lamenting, and of which we are never tired.

The machinations of a faction, into whose interests the unsuspicious Sarsfield, earl of Lucan, had been led, rendered Tyrconnel very unpopular. Against him sundry charges were forwarded to James at St. Germain's; but they do not appear to have had much weight, for he returned, January, 1691, invested with his former power. He fetched with him some money and provisions. In May, a French fleet sailed up the Shannon, bringing neither men nor money, but only some stores and material, and a supply of distinguished officers, among whom were St. Ruth, D'Usson, and De Tessé. To St. Ruth was entrusted the uncontrolled direction of military matters.

Ginkell opened the campaign of 1691 on the 18th of June, by the siege of Ballymore, the most advanced post of the Irish, in Westmeath. His army was magnificently furnished in every respect, while that of the enemy was in a condition sorry enough. The former possessed all the advantages money could supply; the latter suffered all the inconveniencies and most of the privations usually attendant on the want of it. On the 29th, Ginkell, with 18,000 men, appeared before Athlone. Next day the Leinster portion of the town was taken. The garrison retreated, but held the bridge against the whole strength of the assailants, till they completed the destruction of two arches on the Connaught side. On this side, and

within two miles of the town, St. Ruth encamped August the 1st, his army amounting to 15,000 men. From raised works on the Leinster side, fifty siege guns and ten mortars, firing night and day, soon levelled the castle, and the works which lay nearest them. The metal projected by fifty tons of powder, reduced the place to a heap of ruins. The attempt to throw a bridge of boats across the river was defeated. Planks were pushed over the broken arches, but were torn away despite a hurtling storm of grape and canister. A close gallery was tried, but set on fire. All despaired of the issue except De Ginkell himself, who was tinctured with the courage and doggedness of his master. He sent in quest of a ford, which, luckily, was found below the bridge. It would pass twenty men abreast, and not anywhere reach beyond the middle. On the 11th of July, the passage of the ford was undertaken by 2000 picked men, commanded by major-general Mackay, and covered by a brisk fire from the batteries and trenches. This service was attended with little risk, as the bastion which commanded the ford had been already demolished. It has been said that the garrison was surprised by the storming party; but this must have been impossible; for, assuredly, the cannonade, which raged during the passage, attracted the attention of the besieged. The fording party established themselves at the foot of the bridge, and threw planks across the broken arches. By this means, Ginkell's whole force immediately went over and took possession of useless mounds of rubbish. Both parties have been at great pains to magnify the importance of this petty affair. There was no battle, no sortie, no surprise, no contrivance. It was not a siege; for an operation scarcely deserves that name, unless the place has held out a fortnight, notwithstanding the most vigorous and continuous efforts of the besiegers. In this case, it may be said, there was no defence, for the ramparts mounted but six field pieces and two mortars, little enough for a redoubt defended by two hundred men; while the English batteries answered with the incessant roar of

fifty breaching pieces. St. Ruth's conduct on this occasion is not quite intelligible. He sent no succours to the town till it was too late, in fact till it had fallen; and then but two infantry regiments. But, till then, we are told, he was not aware of the attack. This is incredible. The whole army must have heard the boom of fifty great guns thundering for some hours within the short distance of two or three miles of them, if, mayhap, they were not all stone-deaf. None is so deaf as he that will not hear. Of the three leaders, Tyrconnel, St. Ruth, and Sarsfield, each was at variance with the other two; and this, perhaps, may account for the deafness which alone can explain the culpable inaction of the generals. The resistance of 5000 men to the passage of the bridge, even if exposed to some of the pieces in battery, would have made the enemy pay dearly for his daring; and, perhaps, ultimately have foiled him for the time. Athlone was in such a rotten condition, that it could not be long held; nor were the Irish, for want of artillery, fit to take the open field; but those points afford no palliation of the misconduct of their commanders. When the siege was over, St. Ruth moved his camp to Aughrim, and Tyrconnel set out for Limerick.

St. Ruth selected a good defensive, but a bad strategical position, on the ridge of a hill, which was all but insulated by swamps, and which possessed other accessory advantages. The slopes between his centre and a marsh presented numerous hedges, which were speedily trimmed into excellent breastworks. His left rested on the village of Aughrim, with which it communicated through a bog, by a causeway of a width barely sufficient for two horsemen abreast. Another swamp flanked his left; and the approach from Ballinasloe was protected by another, practicable only to infantry. The causeway towards Aughrim was commanded by an old castle, into which were thrown 200 men. The right wing was substantially supported by cavalry; but the left rather sparingly, for the general did not apprehend

any attempt by the ford there. The infantry of the centre were marshalled in two lines, behind which was the cavalry reserve. On the morning of the 23rd of July, Ginkell appeared in front of the Irish position. The Dutch general was much superior to his adversary, in the three arms, in every respect. His various bands amounted to twenty thousand foot, while St. Ruth's were five thousand less. His cavalry numbered three, St. Ruth's two, thousand. The former had thirty field pieces, the latter only ten.

The roar of "sonorous metal" was kept up by Ginkell for some hours, during which his cavalry made demonstrations at the pass on his left. Contrary to orders, they crossed entirely over, and provoked a warm engagement, in which they were repulsed and driven back to their own ground, with considerable loss. At three o'clock a council of war was held, in which it was proposed to suspend the attack till next morning; but, after some debate, it was decided to continue it. The forcing of the pass was again attempted at five o'clock; but this time fruitlessly, for the Irish horse behaved more gallantly than before. At half-past six the English infantry commenced to move over the swamp in front of the right centre of the Irish. Whilst they advanced, through mud and water, on the nearest hedges, they were exposed to a well-directed and destructive fire of small arms. As the defenders quitted one breastwork, they steadily retreated to the next behind, from which they delivered another murderous discharge. The four regiments engaged in this attack were thus solicited, onwards and upwards, from fence to fence, till they found themselves on the slope of the hill in presence of a superior force, who possessed the vantage of the ground. They had disregarded their instructions to wait on the opposite verge of the morass for reinforcements of infantry to the rear, and cavalry to cover their flanks. They were instantaneously overwhelmed by a charge of the Irish centre; and their discomfiture was completed by the cavalry, who poured down on them through gaps cut

beforehand in the hedges for the purpose. As they recrossed the marsh, multitudes were shot down by repeated discharges of musketry.

Meantime, during this conflict, a costly and obstinate struggle was maintained on Ginkell's right where several of his regiments had crossed the bog nearest to the village of Aughrim. These were also worsted, and pursued almost to their lines. St. Ruth thought victory in his hands, when he found himself under the necessity of ordering the second line of his left, together with a battalion from the centre, to the support of his right wing, which was threatened to be outflanked by an extension of Ginkell's left. The width of the bog near Aughrim, and the straightness of the pass through it, inspired St. Ruth with too much confidence in that quarter. His antagonist as keenly detected one advantage, as he had soundly calculated on another: he saw St. Ruth's centre and left weakened at the same time. These results were the fortunate rewards of a bold stroke of generalship. The demonstration on his left was a mere feint, for the troops sent thither did not fire a shot for the remainder of the day. But De Ginkell now ordered a strong detachment of horse, supported by artillery, to cross the causeway leading to St. Ruth's left wing. The confidence of the latter was greatly shaken by the appearance of the artillery; but he could not spare the smallest relief. The little garrison of the old castle was in a sad plight. A quaint story is told of these Thermopylists. Their muskets, it is said, were French, while the bullets supplied for them were too large, having been cast for the English bore; in mitigation of which evil, they converted the globular buttons of their jackets into impotent projectiles. The mistake is possible; but the late detection of it is absolutely improbable. The historian, in general, gives a niggardly admission of his countryman's failure. If he be Celtic, he will strive to make us smile at the disgrace, by adulterating it with the facetious, or to explain it away by some romantic accident.

As soon as Ginkell observed the weakness of the centre, he directed three regiments of foot to cross the morass, and attack that point. They used hurdles to facilitate their purpose. After much loss and labour they reached the Irish side, and established themselves in a corn-field. At this juncture the Irish left was distressed by Kirke's and Hamilton's infantry, who had passed over the bog to aid their cavalry. This combination not only compelled the whole wing to retire, but drove in the outposts of the castle, and worsted the reserve of cavalry that had come up from behind it. The discomfiture of this reserve is attributed to obstructions placed in their way; but what the obstructions were, or how time was found for placing them, we are not informed, and we cannot guess. The moment was critical, but St. Ruth did not yet despair; for he was equally brave and ardent, familiar with dangers, and not unaccustomed to subdue them. He put himself at the head of a brigade of cavalry, and descended the hill rapidly. On his way he turned aside to a battery and, having given instructions concerning the pointing of the guns, rejoined the brigade. As he was assuring them of a favourable issue, his head was carried off by a cannon-ball. The brigade fled, and communicated their panic to the reserve, which had reformed behind Aughrim castle. Sarsfield went off without striking a blow, though "he had the greatest and the best part of the cavalry with him." The infantry were nearly surrounded when they heard of the fate of St. Ruth, and the flight of the cavalry. The news of his death spread disorder through the ranks. The fall of a chaplain at this moment totally dismayed them; such is the compliment paid to Irish courage and constancy by our discreet native historians even of the present day.

"The panic and confused flight" which have been attributed to the popular chaplain's death, were the natural consequences of the flight of one portion of the cavalry, the disgraceful and sadly disheartening inactivity of the other, and the simultaneous attack directed against all

points of the Irish line at the favourable moment. That such was the case there is incontestible evidence in the fact, that the combat was maintained for a full hour after the chaplain's mischance, with the utmost gallantry against ever increasing odds. St. Ruth fell at half-past seven o'clock; at nine, Ginkell was everywhere victorious; but it is not true that the ground was abandoned to him by a wild, inglorious flight. By main fighting Ginkell drove before him a force inferior to his own; but the overmatched foe had the honour of extorting a sanguinary and expensive beating.

The loss of either side has been so variously stated, that nothing more can be done than to make the most reasonable estimate. The number of Irish in killed and wounded may be set down at 6000, which is the mean between two exaggerated accounts. If the loss on the other side be only one-third of this, and such proportion is the most probable, it will amount to 2000. A portion of the infantry, having thrown away their arms, sought refuge in a neighbouring bog, where many were shot down; some fled to Galway; but the greatest number, including all the cavalry, retreated to Limerick.

Ginkell appeared before Galway a week after the battle of Aughrim. The governor of the city was D'Usson, who had in command 2300 men. Brigadier-general O'Donnell, surnamed Baldearg, or the *Red-spotted*, who had left the Spanish service to join the thankless cause of James, endeavoured in vain to throw into it a body of 1000 men, the remnant of an army of 10,000, which he had raised upon his arrival home, but which the jealousy of Tyrconnel dissipated. Galway surrendered; Sligo capitulated; and the garrisons of both, as agreed on, marched unmolested to Limerick.

Tyrconnel died in that city, August 25th, as Ginkell was marching to besiege it. For this great undertaking he put all the resources within his reach under contributions, for men, supplies, and munitions; and adopted every precaution to provide against a want, to secure an advantage, or to obviate a difficulty. He drew in even

distant outposts to reinforce himself; and he waited for the arrival of an English squadron, from which he increased his breaching guns to sixty, and his mortars to nineteen. The batteries opened on the 10th of September. The city was soon in flames. A breach, forty yards wide, appeared on the 20th, in the walls of the English town; but an intervening channel of the river forbade any attempt at storming it. For the five succeeding days shot and shell played incessantly; but as yet the repairs of the night were forced to make amends for the ruin of the day. Neither courage nor exertion relaxed on the part of soldier or citizen. At length, on the night of the 26th, a pontoon bridge was thrown across the Shannon. To defeat such an attempt, brigadier Clifford had been properly posted with a strong body of dragoons; but, whether it was effected through his connivance or negligence has never been ascertained. In the morning a numerous body, horse and foot, passed over the pontoons to the Clare side, where the Irish had their cavalry camp, which was thus cut off from the city. Sheldon commanded the cavalry, and withdrew it to Sixmile-bridge. Ginkell practised a feint on the 2nd of September; he put in motion mock preparations for raising the siege; crossed to the Clare side again; and there began to invest the city. He attacked the works at the Clare end of Thomond-bridge, with three regiments. Colonel Lacey defended them with 700 men. After a desperate struggle, with all the proportions against him, he was driven over the bridge. The town-major, a Frenchman, seeing the enemy at the heels of the fugitives, raised the draw-bridge before the gallant band could secure shelter. The slaughter of 600 of them bears witness to the ferocity of their pursuers, who gratified it at the expense of 200 of their own comrades.

The garrison, with Sarsfield's consent, demanded a parley next day; on the following they agreed to a three days' truce; on the 6th they entered upon negotiations, and exchanged hostages; and on the 14th the civil and military articles were signed and exchanged. That

evening Ginkell was put in possession of the outworks ; and an end to the jacobite war.

A few days after the capitulation, the long-expected French fleet entered the Shannon, bringing 3000 troops, 200 officers, and 10,000 muskets, with munitions and provisions. It is now worse than needless to speculate what would have been the immediate consequences of their earlier arrival. One thing, however, is certain ; and now, to the regret of all parties, too certain ; it could not have prevented the penal laws, which William himself could not prevent, although he boldly and distinctly denounced them as derogatory from his honour, honesty, and principles.

Of the civil articles of the treaty, the most important are, the 1st, 2nd, and 9th.

1st. "The Roman catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges, in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of England, or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles II. ; and their majesties (*William and Mary*), as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman catholics such *further security* in this particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon account of their said religion."

2nd. This article stipulated that "all the residents in Limerick, or any other garrison now in possession of the Irish ; all officers and soldiers under commission of king James, in the counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, and their heirs, shall enjoy their estates, rights, titles, and privileges, which they enjoyed in the time of Charles II., or since ; and shall be put in possession of such of them as are in his majesty's (*William's*) hands, or in the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble ; and all such estates shall be free from crown debts and public charges become due since Michaelmas, 1688 ; and shall enjoy their goods, real and personal, remaining in their own hands, or in trust for them ; and all said persons may use their trades and

callings as freely as they did in the said reign, provided they shall not refuse to take the oath of allegiance."

9th. By this article it is agreed that no oath but the oath of allegiance shall be administered to such Roman catholics as submit to their majesties' government.

These articles, if observed, would have placed Roman catholics nearly in the same position, religious and civil, as that in which they have happily been since the Relief Bill or *Emancipation Act*, of 1829. But they were not observed. At the gloomy period of the capitulation, public faith was exonerated from all its obligations, if a catholic had any interest in them. At that time intolerance was a creed, persecution a duty, and plunder a profession. The articles were violated in the most outrageous manner. The Roman catholics were insulted, hunted, exiled, and robbed by indiscriminate confiscation. The treaty was signed by the lords justices of Ireland and the commander-in-chief of the king's forces, and was afterwards ratified by the king himself, by *impeccimus* under the great seal of England. William always asserted the validity of the compact, and its obligation on his honour and conscience. It was, therefore, virtually and constitutionally out of the power and competency of parliament to make laws in contravention of it. The king never assented to those laws except ostensibly, and so far as he was forced to break his royal word, by parliaments who thought his majesty had as little right to be honest, as they had inclination.

Under the political articles the Irish army had the choice of remaining at home, or emigrating to France. The latter alternative was taken by nearly the whole body. About 19,000 men followed the deposed king, and volunteered into the French service. These formed the nucleus of that celebrated band, known as the "Irish Brigade," whose brave deeds subsequently won the admiration of Europe.

The country was now in a state of helpless orphanage. She was deprived of the protection of her sons; her frame was shattered; her strength prostrated; her heart

broken ; and the greedy, persecuting, pitiless enemy was at her door. Her only hope was in William's honour. That honour made a manly struggle to preserve to her the rights he had guaranteed as king and soldier. But the struggle had small chance against an Irish parliament whose fanatics meditated a pious extermination, and whose rapacious leaders had their eyes fixed on four thousand confiscations, and one million one hundred thousand fertile acres ; and the struggle was rendered still more unavailing by the countenance which the English parliament vouchsafed to their senatorial brethren in Ireland.

CHAPTER XXIII.

WILLIAM III. 1691-1702.

DURING the quarter of a century preceding the year 1862, more substantial improvements in the moral and political principles which are the support of healthy society and stable government, have been effected, than can be traced in the previous five hundred years. At last we have become sensible of humanity, and have attained a sounder understanding of Christian charity, than had ever before existed at any period. Having discovered the worthlessness and wickedness of civil and religious hate, we have agreed to acknowledge the justice and wisdom of universal equality before the laws, as the divine right of all mankind. Penalties are no longer imposed for the bent of the mind, any more than for the bend of the body—for the colour of the creed than for the colour of the countenance. We are, therefore, in a condition to review the past, when different sentiments were entertained, with candour and composure. In the retrospect we shall find much for wonder, and much for censure ; but, whatever be the record borne by history, history should be employed, not to irritate the passions,

but to assuage them; not to mislead, but to rectify, the judgment. We have lived to see the blessed effects of forgiveness and forbearance; and, consequently, we should cultivate those virtues, till, with all parties, the future shall entirely condone for the past.

It has been almost always the policy of the conqueror to reduce the conquered to poverty and dependence; to deprive them of every means of resistance to a licentious will; to crush their spirit; and even to exterminate them, if necessary to domination and plunder. Such was the policy of the Saxons towards the Britons; of the Normans towards the Anglo-Saxons; and of the Anglo-Saxons towards the Irish; but it was more decided, comprehensive, and remorseless in the last case than in either of the others. In Ireland the leading features of that policy are conspicuous for a period of three hundred and forty years, commencing at the invasion. At the accession of Henry VIII. it began to mitigate; and for a quarter of a century the Irish breathed in partial security. The policy, however, had not expired. In 1537 the deputy, lord Grey, proposed to Henry's government the extermination of all the natives bordering on the Pale, by the burning of their ripe corn, the slaughter or seizure of their cattle; and the destruction of everything that could afford food, raiment, shelter, or defence. Up to this period it was the annihilation of a race that was aimed at, but henceforth the extinction of a creed.

What had been originally intended had nearly been accomplished before Henry broke with Rome, in 1537: the Irish as a nation had ceased to exist; the Saxo-Normans and Anglo-Irish had almost rooted out the Celts. After the "Act of the Supreme Head," extirpation diverted the sword from race to religion. It was not employed, however, with any remarkable degree of animosity for twenty years. At Elizabeth's accession it was brought into more earnest play. Sir Henry Sydney visited the presidencies of Munster and Connaught in 1567; and thus describes the scene to his mistress:—

“Like as I never was in a more pleasant country in my life, so never saw I a more waste and desolate land. Such horrible and lamentable spectacles are there to behold as the burning of villages, the ruin of churches, the wasting good towns and castles: yea, the view of the bones of the subjects who died in the fields partly by murder, partly by famine, as, in truth, hardly any Christian with dry eyes could behold.” And, again:—
“There are not left alive, in these two provinces, the twentieth person necessary to inhabit the same.”

During the reign of James I. we have seen religious persecution carried on with great success; so that the Roman catholic proprietors and tenants of an entire province were expelled, and their estates and holdings sold for pence to protestant servitors and undertakers. In his reign, and that of his successor, the puritans had risen into note. This party acquired ascendancy, in the beginning, by the probity of its leaders; by questioning of the royal prerogatives; by advocating the power of parliaments; and by prescribing a greater austerity of life and stiffness of manner than the established church made pretension to. The first leaders were rather honest than able men; but their energy and inflexibility of purpose quickly invited to their cause not only true zeal, but ability of the highest order. Their number was vastly increased by accessions from hypocrisy; which usually finds wide scope and security in times of religious enthusiasm and political change. From the outset they were distinguished by their virulent denunciation of papists; and this brought them vast popularity; for violence and fury are short cuts to the suffrages of the multitude, by whom moderation is always suspected or despised. These men, though themselves obnoxious to persecution, were the bitterest enemies of the Roman catholics, and the most active in urging the most insulting and aggressive measures against them, which were put in force during the times of James I., Charles I., and Cromwell. At the restoration the puritans sided with the country faction, afterwards known as whigs, and

were led in the lower house by the profligate and free-thinking of that party, as well as by some of their own. These, by their writings and harangues, their arts and practices, cajoled and corrupted, inflamed and terrified the protestantism of the people; and to them may be traced the pretended popish plots, the harassing and oppressive proclamations, the test and corporation acts, &c.

The intolerant principles of the puritans long survived their power. With them nearly the whole protestant community of both kingdoms had become infected. Accordingly, on William's accession, the Irish parliament proceeded to imitate the statutes of the English, and to commence that lamentable series of enactments known as the "penal laws." Before this time, although the most tortuous and galling enactments had been passed against the detested disciples of Rome, the Irish statute-book had not been written in blood. The state of things may be sufficiently, though not accurately understood, from what Macaulay says in his reign of James (*History of England*, vol. ii. p. 127):—"The Irish statute-book, afterwards polluted by intolerance as barbarous as that of the dark ages, then contained scarce a single enactment imposing any penalty on papists as such. On one side of St. George's channel, every priest who received a neophyte into the church of Rome was liable to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. On the other side he incurred no such danger. A jesuit who landed at Dover took his life in his hand; but he walked the streets of Dublin in security. Here no man could hold office, or even earn his livelihood as a barrister or a schoolmaster, without previously taking the oath of supremacy; but in Ireland a public functionary was not under that necessity, unless the oath were formally tendered to him. It therefore did not exclude from employment any person whom the government wished to promote. The sacramental test, and the declaration against transubstantiation, were totally unknown; nor was either house of parliament closed against any religious sect."

But the clemency of Irish legislation was doomed suddenly to disappear. One party was flushed with success, supported by an army, and countenanced by a parliament which howled encouragement across the channel. The other was stricken, powerless, and dismayed. The signing of the capitulation of Limerick was, as it were, a signal to the heralds of persecution and the executioners of injustice. Forthwith sectarian intolerance summoned her abettors, and cupidity promptly swelled her muster-roll. For the conduct of the domineering faction, we have already declared that William is not answerable. The question is not at present a very important one. It is, indeed, immoral in tendency, as well as unbecoming the historian, to suffer undeserved obloquy to rest on the memory of a remarkable man, whom he must produce on his page; and it is not nugatory, even in these taught and softened days, to know that William never gave voluntary sanction to the penal code. The odium of having done so has been cast upon him somewhat indiscriminately by friend and foe; but the testimony of Matthew O'Connor relieves him, as much as prince can be relieved, from personal responsibility. Mr. O'Connor was a distinguished member of the *Catholic Board*, and he described the king in these words:—"In matters of religion William was liberal, enlightened, and philosophic. Equally a friend to civil and religious liberty, he granted toleration to dissenters of all descriptions, regardless of their speculative opinions. In the early part of his reign, the catholics enjoyed the full and free exercise of their religion. They were protected in their persons and properties. Under his mild and fostering administration, the desolation of the late war began to disappear. Certain it is, that for the first four years of his reign in Ireland, he proved a mild and beneficent sovereign." Story, in his *Impartial History*, corroborates this testimony. He was one of William's military chaplains during the war, and published his book immediately after it was over. It is unreasonable to suppose that he would have put before the public

sentiments which he could in the least suspect to be at variance with the king's. The chaplain, in his *Continuation*, p. 273, writes :—"What means soever may be used for the settlement of a country, men must at the same time be careful not to deface and dissolve the bonds of Christian charity, nay, of human society; since acting the contrary is but to dash the second table against the first. So to consider others as of this or that persuasion, and treat them ill upon that account, is to forget that they are men. It seems full as unreasonable to destroy other people, purely because they cannot think as we do, as it is for one man to ruin another, because the outward figure of his body is not the same with his own." Additional corroboration could be produced from the *Life of King William III.* by his stanch advocate Harris; and, moreover, William himself avowed the principles here ascribed to him, in his letter to the emperor Leopold.*

Tolerant as was the temper of William, and of those "moderate protestants" who, according to his biographer, "thought it for his majesty's honour and interest that the articles should be strictly observed," the Irish catholics were not allowed time *even to taste* security of any kind. Mr. O'Connor gives too high a colour, when he

* "Je n'ay non plus aucun dessein d'extirper les catholiques Romains, mais seulement d'employer mes soins pour tacher de faire redresser les desordres et les irregularités, qu' on a fait contre les lois de ces royaumes par les mauvais conseils des mal-intentionnéz. . . . J'ay eu de toute [*sic*] tems une très grand [*sic*] aversion pour toute sorte de persécution en matière de religion parmi les chrétiens."

The entire of this letter of William to the emperor Leopold will be found in Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs.

"The high and mighty lords of the states-general" proclaim fully William's generous intentions, in the circular to their several ambassadors, dated 28th September, 1688, and signed by the pensionary Fagel. In it they say :—"Son Altesse a déclaré à leurs Hautes Puissances qu' elle était résolue de passer, avec la grace de Dieu, en Angleterre, non en vue de s'emparer de ce royaume, ni pour chasser le Roi de dessus son trône et s'en rendre le maître, ou pour renverser ou apporter quelque changement à la succession légitime, moins encore pour exterminer la religion catholique, ou pour la persécuter."

says the king "screened them against the insolence, rapacity, and tyranny of the party that had been triumphant." He was not in a condition to check the doings of his servants and partizans in Ireland, from whose discontent, considering his precarious hold of the English sceptre, he had much to fear. The ratification was barely six weeks old, when the lords justices wrote that they had "received complaints from all parts of Ireland of the ill-treatment of the Irish who had submitted, had their majesties' protection, or were included in articles; and yet who were robbed of their substance, and abused in their persons." The justices issued proclamations against these outrages, but in vain; they were derided and defied. Harris declares that the sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other administrators of law and equity, illegally dispossessed several catholics, he may have said thousands, of their goods, chattels, lands, and tenements. Rage and rapacity made such advances in a short time, that Dr. Leslie, as an eye-witness, bears the following record, in his "Answer to King," published in London in 1692:—"The vast number of poor, harmless natives who were daily killed up and down the fields, as they were following their labour, or taken out of their beds and hanged, or shot immediately for *rapparees*, is a most terrible scandal to the government, which the protestants themselves do loudly attest." Many of the perpetrators acted from the conviction, that "if they lost one opportunity of destroying the papists, it would be the justice of God to make them afterwards the instruments of their punishment."—(Rev. Geo. Story, *Continuation*, p. 273.) What a dreary and perverse view of the Divine justice! But although this apprehension may account for many a misdeed, yet we can no more father upon it the birth of the penal laws of Ireland, than we can those of England, where the Roman catholics had been utterly powerless for a century and a quarter. We can find their seeds in the distemper of zeal, the blindness of policy, and, more abundantly, in the spirit of the times, which was persecuting, malicious, and revengeful.

Mr. Burke gives a different origin to this abhorred code. After noticing the total reduction of Ireland in 1691, the concomitant ruin of the native Irish, and in general of the first races of the English, he proceeds to say:—"The new English interest was settled with as solid a stability as anything in human affairs can look for. All the penal laws of that unparalleled code of oppression which were made after the last event were manifestly the effects of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, whom the victors delighted to trample upon, and were not at all afraid to provoke. They were not the effect of their fears, but of their security. They who carried on this system, looked to the irresistible force of Great Britain for support in their acts of power. They were quite certain that no complaint of the natives would be heard on this side of the water, with any other sentiments than those of contempt and indignation. Their cries served only to augment their torture. Machines which could answer their purpose so well, must be of an excellent contrivance. Indeed in England the double name of the complainants, Irish and papists (it would be hard to say, singly, which was the most odious), shut up the hearts of every one against them. Whilst that temper prevailed, and it prevailed in all its force to a time within our memory, every measure was pleasing and popular, just in proportion as it tended to harass and ruin a set of people who were looked upon as enemies to God and man, and indeed as a race of bigoted savages, who were a disgrace to human nature itself."

The merely English interest had acquired no such predominance as Burke refers to, till the swamping of the parliament which passed the act of Union. It may, with some reservation, be conceded, that the penal laws were the effect, not of the victors' fears, but of their security: for the wantonness of power seeks gratification in capricious cruelty, and the insolence of superiority demands martyrs of its existence. But if we begin at the descendants, and trace the genealogy backwards, we shall at last come upon the first great ancestor, Religious Intolerance or Hate—

little do they differ—wilfully indulged as a favourite vice, or piously cherished as a godly virtue.

In the year 1715, the lords justices of Ireland, in their address to the commons' house, recommended that all distinctions should be abolished save that of protestant and papist. What is manifested here is not a pervading national antipathy, but the genuine anti-religious element. Ascending from this to the 27th of Elizabeth, we shall recognise the eldest branch of every generation of the penal code by the same stamp. And we follow the family thus:—(8) An act to punish papists for enlisting in the king's service, and reward informers against those who did so—Geo. I.; (7) an act declaring that priest-hunters, and informers against papists, did honourable service to the state; that the hearing of mass, without taking the oath (of abjuration) against the pretender, was illegal; (6) an act for preventing the further growth of popery, and for imposing the sacramental test, which excluded all conscientious catholics from office (2nd Anne); (5) an act for confirming (*really* annulling) the treaty of Limerick (Will. III.); (4) an act to prevent papists being solicitors; for disarming papists (6th Will. III.); (3) Proclamation (Oct. 16, 1678) banishing all priests and dignitaries of the church of Rome, and suppressing all popish schools and religious societies; (2) Proclamation banishing their popish inhabitants from Galway, and five other, the principal cities of the kingdom; (1) the 27th of Elizabeth, proclaimed by the English commissioners (1652), by which act magistrates might take away the children of papists, and send them to be educated in England; a fine of thirty pence may be levied on any papist absent from the (protestant) parish church on Sundays; and the oath of abjuration be tendered to all adults, under pain, in case of refusal, of imprisonment at pleasure, and forfeiture of two-thirds of real and personal estate.

Now, the penal enactments in Elizabeth's reign were directed against Englishmen; they were, therefore, aimed not at a hated race, but a hated religion. They were not,

however, yet sent to Ireland for adoption there. It is indeed true that, when the genius of intolerance could safely show itself in this country, it availed itself of the persecuting statutes of Elizabeth and James I., by embodying them in proclamations which, under Poyning's act, had the force of law; but still it was not a race that was to be extirpated, but a faith to be extinguished. That in England the latter was the sole inspiring motive and simple object, is self evident; but the axiom is fortified by the fact, that Elizabeth and her senate persecuted every form of faith except the established one; for martyrdom was sometimes bestowed on the calvinist and puritan, as well as on the papist.

Thus we see that the spirit which moved the Irish justices to obliterate all distinctions except those of protestant and papist, and to enjoin the rigid execution of all laws against the latter, was the same which vivified Elizabeth and her advisers, who could at home legislate for only one race. We are immediately struck with the family likeness between the Sunday fine, the sacramental test, and the exclusion of popish recruits from the army. This faithful resemblance appears in every generation of the penal statutes from Elizabeth's time to George III.—a gloomy distance (from 1585 to 1793) of more than two hundred years.

When laws were enacted against the Irish, something was feared, and something hoped: there were patrician armies on one hand, and patrician acres on the other; but when they were levelled against papists, they smote only cripples and beggars. The whip and the halter were introduced for the protection of the gospel, when fears for it could be only simulated or imaginary. But for the few who feared, there were thousands more sincere, who hated; so that the instruments of punishment were plied to gratify rankling malignity, in defiance of protestant principle.

The abolition of a peculiar form of Christian worship by worrying its professors to death or to outward denial, was the grand object of the penal codex, although the

motives may at times have been a little mixed. The source from which it first sprang, was the distinction between protestant and papist, a distinction which was fondly nursed till the year 1829, when the state withdrew its protection, and committed it to private interest and solicitude. The distinction still survives, with improved taste and temper; and only as a witness of the sincerity of both parties. Still the distinctions between protestant and catholic exist; but they serve, like the partitions of the paternal mansion, not for jealous boundaries, but for mutual convenience.

In 1698, the Irish parliament, roused by some encroachments on its privileges, made an effort to defend them; they rejected a bill of supply because it had not originated in the commons. The bill had been returned from England, on the principle of Poyning's law; and the power of binding Ireland by English statutes was asserted by Sydney, the lord lieutenant. On this occasion Molyneux stood forward as the champion of the legislative independence of Ireland, which he ably argued in a well-known book, called "The Case of Ireland." This production the English commons condemned to be burned by the hands of the hangman. During the administration of lord Capel, in 1695, the penal statutes against the Roman catholics received fresh augmentations. In 1695, the British prohibited the exportation of woollen cloth from Ireland, which was the cause of much distress and discontent. The commons, to William's great vexation, resumed seventy-six grants of land, with which he had rewarded his followers. They appointed commissioners to determine claims and make sales; and unconstitutionally forbade petitions against their management and decision. The grants were estimated at £1,500,000 by the trustees themselves, but produced only about one-third of that sum in their corrupt hands.

Amongst those resumptions was one particularly offensive to the king. His uncle, James, had considerable private possessions in Ireland, which were seized by William. His wife recommended him to appropriate

these to the purposes of better educating candidates for orders, and relieving the domestic necessities of the parochial clergy. But, as the luck of a poor parson was as bad then as it is now, the estates were bestowed on his favourite, Elizabeth Villiers. The ugly courtesan, however, who bewitched the king, was plucked by the parliament. His majesty growled his resentment in "raucous Dutch;" but the Irish commons consoled him by humorously voting that "the advising and passing of (all) the grants was highly reflecting upon the king's honour."

As William was always craving men and money to fight the French, so was he always at the mercy of the parliaments of both kingdoms. During his reign he enjoyed not an hour's free-will, except in his Continental schemes. In these he was indulged, on consideration of his suffering the parliament to draw round his prerogatives a spiral, which they narrowed at every grant of a subsidy. When he came to know them, he scoffed at their noise about the constitution, and regarded them as a cabal of selfish cheats and vicious bigots. He struggled for a while to raise his absolute will above their pretensions; not that he was a tyrant, but he found himself a slave to whom any means of liberation were lawful. In order to lighten the work, and lessen the importance, of parliament, he instituted cabinet ministers; but to no purpose; for the house penetrated him, and gave him a hint of his own destination, by unceremoniously sending home the Dutch guards. Mistrusting the mere command of the purse, the commons enlisted the suffrages of the ignorant rabble and the stupid peasantry, by inflaming and pampering their prejudices. They raised the cry of "No popery," and satisfied it with *one* penal enactment; they created terrors and alarms, and calmed them with *another*. What laws soever pleased them, the commons passed, whether the king was pleased or not. William avowed his repugnance to persecution; is known to have instructed even English judges on circuit not to molest catholic priests; and never assented to a penal law except in submission to a menacing and formidable power.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ANNE, GEORGE I. AND II., A. D. 1702 TO 1760.

ANNE, 1702-1714.—Two remarkable acts were passed in this reign: the Test Act, and "an Act to prevent the further Growth of Popery." The former rendered the receiving of the sacrament, according to the rite of the church of England, an indispensable qualification for some of the humblest public offices, from which, consequently, all conscientious dissenters were excluded; the latter greatly aggravated the severity of the penal laws against the Roman catholics. This body was eloquently defended, at the bar of both houses of parliament, by Sir Theobald Butler, Sir Stephen Rice, and Mr. Malone, who forcibly maintained that the proposed acts were a breach of the treaty of Limerick. Those acts were not repealed till 1828. In Ireland, as well as in England, the mutual malice and incessant contentions between the two great parties, the whigs and the tories, agitated civil society and embittered social. The whigs were the supporters of the principles of the late revolution, which placed William on the throne. The tories were the adherents of James II., in Latin *Jacobus*, and hence the term Jacobites applied to them. They denied the right of parliament to alter the succession, and fondly cherished the hope of restoring the Stuarts, in which they knew themselves to be secretly countenanced by the queen. This party included all the Roman catholics, and many eminent protestants, lay and clerical. Those protestants were distinguished by the name of High churchmen, and Nonjurors. As High churchmen they maintained certain opinions, such as the divine right of kings, non-resistance, and passive obedience, which long continued the fruitful source of violent and restless discussions, though now entirely disregarded. As Nonjurors they refused to take the oath of allegiance to any prince but James, or his

legitimate successors, in consequence of which refusal many of them suffered deprivation of office in church and state. Towards the close of Anne's reign, the clergy and peers of the established church of Ireland were mostly Jacobites; the whigs had a small but formidable majority in the commons: this division of parties produced, as usual, endless wrath and altercation. In 1703, the Irish lords vigorously resisted the encroachments of the English legislature upon their privileges. On an appeal to the English peers, the judgment of the Irish house, which had decreed certain lands to be the property of the earl of Meath, was reversed. The Irish peers resolved that their judgment was final and irreversible, and declared that any subject appealing from their jurisdiction, or executing any order contrary to it, should be deemed a betrayer of the privileges of their house, and of the rights of the people of Ireland.

GEORGE I., 1714-1727.—No opposition was given here to the accession of the elector of Hanover; the people were passive, and the parliament full of loyalty. The legislative independence of this body was again entrenched on, in a case similar to that just mentioned. In a suit between Sherlock and Annesley (1719), the British lords reversed the decree of the Irish, and confirmed the decision of the Exchequer court. The Irish peers passed a resolution in support of their privileges, and put the barons of the Exchequer into custody for fining the sheriff who disobeyed them. The English parliament commended the barons, and passed "An act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain," which deprived the Irish peers of the power of judging in appeals, and left the Irish legislature a doubtful and impotent authority, except in the accomplishment of mischief.

In 1724, one Wood obtained a patent for supplying Ireland with a copper coinage. Jonathan Swift, dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, roused the nation against this base medium, by the publication of his celebrated "Draper's Letters." A reward of £300 was vainly offered

for the discovery of their author. The grand jury ignored the bills against Harding, their printer. The parliament, the corporation, the grand juries, the populace, excited by the patriotic appeals of Swift, vehemently denounced the coinage, and the patent had to be withdrawn.

GEORGE II., 1727-1760.—Upon the accession of this monarch, the Roman catholics ventured to congratulate him, and were rewarded by a total deprivation of the elective franchise. In Ulster, distress approaching to famine prevailed. Several riots occurred in Cork and Limerick, in consequence of efforts to prevent the furnishing of corn from the south, which was itself threatened with scarcity. The north poured forth her hardy sons upon the coasts of America in great numbers—an emigration which long continued to increase, produced by restricted commerce, exorbitant rents, and a partisan parliament. An application to the king, with the consent of the British cabinet, made (1739) by the earl of Clancarty, who had conformed to the established church, for the restoration of his estates forfeited in the rebellion of 1641, was defeated by a remonstrance of the Irish commons. The mild, plausible, and tolerant administration of the earl of Chesterfield, who was appointed lord lieutenant in 1745, secured the peace of Ireland during the excitement caused by the insurrection in Scotland in favour of Charles Edward, grandson of James II., commonly called the Young Pretender. The earl, so far from requiring aid to keep down the Irish, was able to spare his master four battalions for the service in Scotland; yet he was recalled nine days after the battle of Culloden, April 16, 1746. In 1741, some discoveries of various encroachments on the privileges of the common council of Dublin, of which he was a member, were published by Charles Lucas, an apothecary. In his tracts he also appeared as the advocate of the legislative independence of his country, and consequently brought down upon himself the vengeance of those in power. The house of commons voted him a

public enemy, and a proclamation was issued for his seizure, which he evaded by flying into exile (1749). When the temper of the times changed, he returned, after an absence of a few years, and was chosen one of the representatives of the metropolis in parliament. He derived much notoriety and popularity from circumstances, rather than from talents or services; but though he may, perhaps, be considered a demagogue, he was certainly, to his great praise, an honest and unpaid one. From 1753 to 1760, the government and the parliament were at variance concerning the right of disposing of some surplus revenue: those contests are of no importance now. In 1759, rumours of a legislative union with England inflamed the mob of the metropolis; they broke into the houses of parliament, seated an old woman on the throne, swore such of the members as came in their way to resist the measure, and launched forth into other excesses. The garrison turned out, but the rioters dispersed of themselves during the night. During the same year, France projected a formidable invasion of Ireland. The fleet, commanded by Conflans, of twenty-one ships of the line and four frigates, with 18,000 troops, was defeated by Hawke, and De la Clue's squadron of twelve ships and three frigates, by Boscawen. Thurot alone effected a landing with a small squadron, and 600 men, at Carrickfergus, February 21st, 1760. He took the town and castle, which he relinquished on the 26th. On his return home through the Irish seas, he was encountered by commodore Elliott, and his fleet captured. He gallantly fell in the action. He was a man of romantic bravery, whose love of adventure had exposed him to many vicissitudes of fortune. His real name was O'Farrell, which indicates his descent.

CHAPTER XXV.

GEORGE III., A. D. 1760 TO 1820.

IN the early part of this reign, various agrarian grievances produced associations of insurgents, under the names of *Whiteboys*, *Hearts of Oak*, and *Hearts of Steel*; but these illegal bodies, which excited a deal of loyal and orthodox alarm, were easily suppressed, yet not before they had committed some flagrant outrages. The British parliament, commiserating the general distress of this country, relaxed some of the restrictions on its trade and commerce, but the clamour of the English merchants compelled them to withdraw the most beneficial of their indulgences. This illiberality soon found its punishment in a total repeal of commercial restraints, under the auspices of the Volunteer Associations.

Towards the close of the American war of independence, France joined the colonies, and Britain feared an invasion of Ireland. Unable to afford any adequate protection, in consequence of her own difficulties and dangers, she was reluctantly forced to submit to the proposal of the Irish to defend themselves. No sooner was the gracious permission granted them to do so, than 50,000 volunteers equipped themselves for the emergency, with the earl of Charlemont at their head. The arms with which these troops supplied themselves were soon found useful, not only to ward off invasion, but to wrest from the paramount powers important constitutional rights. Supported by the volunteer association, the popular leaders became bold. When parliament met, in October, 1779, Grattan moved an amendment to the address, which he followed up with a resolution, that the only hope of reviving commerce was in the freedom of the export trade. This amendment was supported by Henry Flood and several ministerial members. Hussey Burgh, the prime sergeant, proposed another, "That it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone,

that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin." This was passed unanimously, and carried to the Castle by the speaker, who proceeded up Dame-street, between files of the Dublin volunteers in arms, and commanded by the duke of Leinster. Their patriotic presence was rewarded with a vote of thanks by the peers in parliament. The unanimity of the legislative body, the significance of the military array, and the universal enthusiasm of the people, produced a sudden and unusual effect at the other side of the channel. Three propositions for the relief of Irish commerce were introduced into parliament by the minister, lord North; but they failed in allaying the excitement here; for success enlarged the views and exalted the ambition of the people, who now asserted their right to an unfettered constitution, and the supremacy of their parliament. Accordingly, on the 19th of April, Henry Grattan, in a brilliant, vigorous, and impassioned oration, moved, "that no power on earth, save that of the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, had a right to make laws for Ireland." The debate, which ensued, lasted till beyond daybreak, when there was an adjournment without a division on the question; but this debate was not resumed.

The ranks of the volunteers swelled rapidly; and the government sought their favour by presenting them with 16,000 muskets, though their custom was to clothe and equip themselves. Their organization and discipline were greatly forwarded by the return of numbers of Irishmen, who had acquired a knowledge of military matters on the fields of American independence.

They grew apace in strength, in skill, in courage, and in pride. As the spectre of invasion glided out of sight, the genius of the nation appeared to them, and they understood the vision. They met, discussed, decreed. In the newspapers of the day, the public devoured their opinions, caught the fire, and added to the fuel. Every mind was now directed to contemplate the mighty engine which had been framed by the genius of protestantism, and placed in the hands of the insulted, oppressed, and

impoverished. To improve its organization, and keep the machinery in working order, were the engrossing objects of the gravest meditation. The union of all the volunteers into one homogeneous body, was soon resolved on. A commander-in-chief was next carefully sought for. It was the country's fortunate moment: the choice fell on James Caulfield, the good and gracious earl of Charlemont.

In the commons, the logic of Flood, close and conclusive, calm yet vehement, tore mercenary sophistry to pieces; while the eloquent breath of Grattan wafted the flames of patriotism to heaven; and the tempest of Burgh raged indignant through the haunts of corruption. But venality in parliament differs from venality anywhere else. There the more shocks it receives, the more dangerous it becomes. Shatter it again and again, and every fragment is a new power. What it has lost in solidity it gains by dispersion. Every atom acquires the mischief of the aggregate. The terrible wrath of the patriot is hurled against the hireling; it blasts his character, and blights his vote. Nevertheless his vote counts; while he himself fetches its pay, finds preferment, and makes disciples. Against such a power, enlisted and recruited by a lavish treasury, patriotism maintained a long and desperate struggle.

The battle was still raging, when Cornwallis was surrendering to the French in America. The popular leaders heard the news with no insulting exultation. On the contrary, a loyal address was moved by Yelverton, and the supplies were cordially granted. But their loyalty did not make them forget their opportunity. The officers of the first regiment of the Ulster volunteers assembled at Armagh, at the close of 1781, for the purpose of taking into consideration the political state of the country. They came to the conclusion of inviting delegates from all the Ulster affiliations to meet at Dungannon on the 15th of February, 1782, in order to deliberate on public affairs. In consequence, delegates representing one hundred and forty-three corps convened in the church of that town on the

day signified, and couched their wrongs and their rights in a series of resolutions, which at that time looked bold and threatening enough.

They resolved that "their civil rights are not forfeited by their bearing arms; that the claim of making laws to bind this kingdom by any body of men other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance; that the powers exercised by the privy councils of both kingdoms, under Poyning's law, are unconstitutional; that the ports of Ireland are free; that a mutiny bill, not limited by the session of parliament, is unconstitutional; that they are *determined* to seek redress of those grievances; that the right of private judgment in religious matters is as sacred in others as in themselves; and that they, therefore, as Christians and protestants, rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws," &c.

All the volunteers applauded and adopted the resolutions. The English ministers were aroused to a sense of danger. They sent over the duke of Portland as lord lieutenant. A royal message, recommending the consideration of affairs in Ireland, was conveyed by Fox to the British parliament. On the 16th of April, the Irish legislature met; and Grattan moved an amendment to the address, declaring the crown of Ireland an imperial one, inseparably annexed to that of Great Britain, and asserting the independent sovereignty of the king, lords, and commons of Ireland. The amendment was passed by acclamation, and its force was felt in England like the shock of an earthquake. There, on the 17th of the next month, both houses resolved that the 6th George I., "An act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of England," should be repealed, and "that it was indispensable to the interests of both kingdoms that the connexion between them should be established by mutual consent;" and "that an address, praying that measures should be taken accordingly, be presented to his majesty." Those concessions were announced, on the 27th of May, to the Irish parliament, by

the duke of Portland, in his speech from the throne, and were received with frantic joy. Grattan, in an ardent and dignified oration, expressed his gratitude and full satisfaction; but Flood, and Sir Samuel Bradstreet, recorder of Dublin, expressed their dissent. Not deeming the repeal of the act of George I. sufficient security, they required that the disclaiming of the *right* of England to make laws for Ireland should be accompanied by a disclaimer of the *power*. This technicality was not appreciated; for, on the division, the address was carried by 211 to 2.

As a mark of gratitude to his majesty for assenting to those acts, Grattan voted him £100,000 for augmenting his navy. The Irish commons presented that patriotic statesman with £50,000 in reward for his services. Those acts, however, did not produce a final settlement. The Irish parliament had enacted, that no cause should be tried out of the kingdom after June 1, 1782; but lord Mansfield tried a case removed by a writ of error to his court from Ireland, at a subsequent period. The discontent in Ireland at this new aggression so terrified the government, that they introduced a bill into the British parliament (January, 1783), to prevent any appeal from the courts of Ireland to those of Great Britain. Flood, who had distinguished himself in bringing about this complete adjustment, was dismissed from a post under government of £3500 per annum.

The efforts of the popular leaders and the volunteers were now directed to *parliamentary reform*. The first meeting with this object was held at Lisburn, July 1, 1783; that of Dungannon followed, then others in Leinster and Munster. A *national convention* was held in Dublin, November 10; the great complaint was, that of the 300 representative commoners, only seventy-two were *freely* elected. On the 29th, Henry Flood, in the commons, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people; but Barry Yelverton, Ponsonby, and others indignantly opposed it, as originating with an armed body endeavouring to overawe

parliament. This objection, which would have appeared only a recommendation in the late struggle, was now valid and triumphant; for the government had acquired strength by the disappearance of a foreign enemy, the corruption of the patriotic parliament, and the seeds of religious dissension which began to vegetate under its watchful eye. In the following year Flood again revived his motion for reform, but the second reading was lost by a majority of two to one, in a full house,—a decision which pleased some of the friends of the measure, to whom it had been hinted that parliamentary corruption was less dangerous than political privileges in the hands of the Roman catholics. Sentiments of this nature obtained prevalence; and the question of parliamentary or radical reform, as it was called afterwards, declined for a period within doors and without, notwithstanding the determined tone of a national congress of 200 delegates, representing twenty-seven counties, assembled to force it upon the king and parliament, on the 25th October, 1784, in Dublin. The events of the French revolution led to its revival, and with more liberal views respecting the Roman catholics. It was proposed in 1791 that an association should be formed, embracing, under the name of United Irishmen, all who favoured universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and catholic emancipation. These were the ostensible measures; but it appears from a letter of Wolfe Tone, that at least the leaders contemplated changes much more radical. In reference to the *printed* objects of the association he says:—"The foregoing contain my opinion, as far as it may be advisable to publish it; I have not said one word that looks like a wish for a *separation*, though I give it to you and your friends as my most decided opinion, that such an event would be a regeneration to this country." The leaders were for the most part men of great activity and enterprise; the confederacy, therefore, made rapid progress. Hamilton Rowan and Napper Tandy organized a *national guard* in Dublin, without consulting the government; but the general muster of these bands was prevented by the timely

issue of a proclamation. The leaders published a manifesto, ordering them to resume their arms, for which Rowan, their secretary, was tried (1794), and sentenced to a fine of £500, imprisonment for two years, and security for good behaviour. He escaped from prison; fled to America, and obtained, after some years, leave to return home, where he died at an old age, and universally esteemed. The proclamation of the lord lieutenant produced several inflammatory addresses and declarations, some of the authors and publishers of which were prosecuted and punished.

At the same time the Roman catholics, after some strenuous and well-directed efforts, aided by the liberal protestants, succeeded in obtaining the right of the elective franchise. Some improvements were introduced into the Irish administration. These favours easily procured the enactment of two bills, one against the importation of arms, the other prohibiting conventions. The lords appointed a secret committee to inquire into certain disturbances that agitated the north, which reported that in Belfast bodies of men were drilled almost every night, and that attempts had been made to seduce the soldiery; that the declared object of those bodies was reform in parliament, but their real, the overawing of the government. The appearance of a prohibitory proclamation repressed those proceedings, but the united Irishmen secretly extended their ramifications throughout the kingdom. For the internal defence of the country a militia bill was passed, directing the compulsory levy of 16,000 men, to be enlisted for four years. Suspected persons were now put on their trial: amongst others, Jackson, a protestant clergyman, who took poison, and died at the bar of the court. He had been betrayed to Pitt, by Cockayne, a London solicitor, who was his confidant. Wolfe Tone and Napper Tandy eluded the law by voluntary exile. The arrival of lord Fitzwilliam, in 1795, awakened hopes of restoring tranquillity, but his sudden recall served to inflame the public discontents. Grattan's bill for the total repeal of the penal laws was lost on the

second reading, May 5; but another passed for the establishment of Maynooth college for the education of catholic priests.


The *Peep-of-day* boys, who were presbyterians, and the *Defenders*, Roman catholics, had many sanguinary encounters in Ulster. The former, to increase their strength, united themselves with the episcopalian protestants; and this union, which took place at the close of 1795, was the origin of the society of Orangemen, which soon spread extensively, and became conspicuous for their active opposition to the united Irishmen, and their subsequent hostility to all concessions to the Roman catholics. To put a stop to party outrages, an insurrection act was passed, with one dissentient voice, lord Edward Fitzgerald. At the time of its passing, there were 72,000 united Irishmen in Ulster. Other measures of precaution were taken; the habeas corpus act was suspended, and an armed body of 37,000 yeomanry raised.

The measures of general Lake, in many respects arbitrary and severe, prevented the rising of the united-men in Ulster, which was to have taken place before the end of June, 1797. Three newspapers, employed as vehicles for rebellious advice, were forcibly suppressed; but private handbills were employed instead. Religious dissensions set in among the Ulster unionists, many of whom seceded, accepting the pardon published on the 17th of May. A conciliatory policy was now pressed upon the government by county meetings and various influential persons; but government had determined to put down the rebellion by other means, and their measures were strenuously supported by a large majority in the commons. On the other hand, the provincial committees of the united-men decreed that they would pay no attention to any attempt of parliament to divert them from their purpose. The leaders were inclined to keep back the general rising till the arrival of auxiliaries from France, two expeditions from which, in their favour, had already failed. The wished-for aid was daily expected, while the government employed every means to baffle and dis-

organize the conspiracy. They soon found a powerful instrument for their purposes in Thomas Reynolds, colonel and treasurer of the Kildare united-men, who betrayed all the parties and their plans. In consequence of Reynolds' information, the provincial committee of Leinster were seized (March 12, 1798) in the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge-street, Dublin. Bond, Thomas A. Emmett, and M'Neven, were arrested; and warrants were issued against Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Sampson, and M'Cormick, who escaped in time. Lord Edward was arrested subsequently, on the 19th of May, in the house of a dealer in feathers, in Thomas-street; and died, June 3, of the effects of a pistol-shot received in the shoulder, on the occasion of his arrest. Lest delay should disconcert all their plans, a general rising was decreed for the 23rd of May. On that night the mail-coaches were to be stopped, as a signal for the whole country to appear in arms; the castle and the city of Dublin, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the camp at Loughlinstown, were to be attacked. The rising took place; but all those enterprises proved failures, by reason of the information possessed by government. In short, the attempts made in Carlow, Kildare, Meath, Antrim, and Down, were easily discomfited. "In Wexford alone did the rebellion really rage," as Keightley observes; "which county would probably have remained at rest, had not the people been goaded into rebellion by the cruelties inflicted by the military and the self-styled loyalists." Father John Murphy raised his standard at Gorey, May 26, 1798; and next day the rebels formed two encampments, on the hills of Oulart and Kiltomas. They took Enniscorthy on the 28th, and Wexford on the 30th; their grand position was on Vinegar hill, near the former town. The whole of the southern part of the county was in their possession, except Duncannon and New Ross, which they attacked unsuccessfully, May 4, with the loss of 2000 men, after a desperate contest, which raged for ten hours. The exasperated rebels, after their defeat, wreaked their vengeance on 200 protestant prisoners, confined in Scul-

labogue barn, which they set on fire, piking those who attempted to escape. Five days before, a butchery of greater extent, and perhaps atrocity, was perpetrated on the insurgents in Kildare. A large body assembled, May 31, on the Curragh, to submit, and surrender their arms to general Wilford. Sir James Duff, who was on his march from Limerick, with 600 men, attacked the unre-sisting multitude, and slaughtered 300 before the arrival of an express from general Dundas. As Duff met with no show of resistance, it is impossible he could have acted under a mistake. Such atrocities are rarely confined to one side in civil war, and especially when it is of a religious character. It is to be lamented that they are too much dwelt upon by the hostile parties; and not for the purpose of exciting virtuous horror, and cultivating humane feelings, but of arousing and exasperating the spirit of revenge and retaliation,—two of the most barbarous passions of our nature.

On the 9th of June, general Needham, with 1600 men, bravely repulsed the attack made on Arklow by 25,000 rebels, who afterwards concentrated all their strength on Vinegar hill. General Lake determined to force this strong position. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 21st he advanced, with sixteen thousand troops, in several divisions. After withstanding a destructive fire of cannon and musketry for two hours, the rebels broke, and fled to Wexford, which was immediately abandoned to the royal troops. This victory put a virtual end to a rebellion, the extent of which was studiously increased by the means taken to suppress it. "Scenes of cruelty and oppression," says the candid Keightley, "sufficient to goad a people to madness, were speedily enacted; the soldiers lived at free quarters; houses and property were burned; suspected persons were half-hanged, flogged, and picketed." Those cruelties were cruelly retaliated. During the encampment on Vinegar hill, the protestant prisoners were put to death daily, till about 400 had perished. On the bridge over the Slaney, at Wexford, ninety-seven, in parties of ten at a time, were held up in



the air on pikes till they expired. Nevertheless there occurred some noble instances of Christian feeling. The charitable rector of Wexford was saved by the very rabble. Father P. Roche showed equal humanity and courage; yet he, who had saved many, was hanged with stern indifference; for "clemency was not the practice." It is also a well-ascertained fact, that, though numbers of protestant females were among their prisoners, the rebels invariably treated them respectfully; in which laudable behaviour they were not imitated by the royal troops, with the exception of the highlanders, who acted upon all occasions in a worthy manner.

After the dispersion at Vinegar hill, and the recovery of Wexford and Enniscorthy, straggling bodies of the insurgents, hearing that no capitulation would be admitted, appeared in various quarters, and, by their abortive attempts, kept alive the acrimony and vigilance of the victorious party. The main body, about 15,000, under the command of Father John Murphy, burned the small towns of Killedmond and Castlecomer, in Kilkenny. There, however, Sir Charles Asgill routed them with great slaughter. They were again defeated at Kilcomney, where they lost their cannon, and their leader, Murphy, who was made prisoner and hanged. By this time their numbers were reduced to 3000 or 4000, who betook themselves back to the Wicklow mountains. After being foiled, notwithstanding some partial successes at Hacketstown, Blessington, and Carnew, and finding themselves hunted and pressed upon all sides, they broke up, and wandered to their homes or places of concealment.

Throughout the disturbed districts, and in Dublin, trials and executions, civil and military, were conducted with great activity. In that city the most remarkable criminals were the brothers Henry and John Sheares, young men of talents, amiable qualities, and respectable connexions. Their fate excited general regret. Oliver Bond was reprieved. Mercy sheathed the judicial sword on the 17th of July, under the administration of a new

lord lieutenant, lord Cornwallis; when the Irish parliament passed an act of amnesty, in pursuance of his majesty's pleasure to that effect, declaring that all who should lay down their arms, or had done so, with the exception of Tandy and thirty others, should be pardoned. This humane step quickly restored peace and order. Most of the leaders who had been captured before the actual outbreak were offered liberty to emigrate upon disclosing all the transactions and projects of the united Irishmen, without implicating any one by name or description; an offer which was accepted by Arthur O'Connor, M'Neven, Addis Emmett, Neilson, and seventy others.

As the country was settling down, and reverting to peace and order, fresh excitement was produced by the landing of a French expedition under general Humbert, at Killala, August 22 Humbert brought with him only 1100 men; but he was joined by about 1000 of the misguided peasantry. He got possession of Ballina next day, and was marching upon Castlebar, when a superior force appeared to dispute his way, but which fled almost at the first shot. The mountaineers of Mayo flocked in thousands to the victor's standard, who was somewhat disheartened by their inexperience of military affairs. As he advanced towards Sligo, Cornwallis marched through Clare, and bent his course to Carrick-on-Shannon. At Colooney he worsted colonel Vereker, who came against him from Sligo; then, crossing the Shannon at Ballintra, he arrived at Ballinamuck, September 8. During all these movements, the gallant viceroy *hung upon his rear*, with a grand army of 20,000 men. His fear of a rising in Longford ill defends his leisurely conduct with such a force under his command. Perhaps he diffided in them. He had now at last to fight; for Humbert halted, and faced him, although his strength was reduced to 800 rank and file, and his native auxiliaries,—a naked, uncomfortable, desponding multitude. At the first attack, 200 Frenchmen laid down their arms; but by the remainder it was, for a time, fought gallantly,

They had, however, soon to surrender at discretion, to the number of 96 officers and 748 privates. The Irish, who were forgotten in the surrender, were slaughtered without remorse or reserve. A few of the leaders were held over to gratify the feline instincts of the sectarian animosity in Dublin.

Killala was still in the hands of its garrison, which, when attacked by major-general Trench, on the 28th September, behaved manfully. Trench began the attack with five guns and 1200 men, including a strong body of dragoons. His entrance into the town bore evidence that he believed in the dogma—loyalty can do no murder; for he choked the streets and lanes with 400 bodies of unresisting and defenceless wretches.

On the 20th September, another expedition, consisting of a line of battle ship and eight frigates, having on board 3000 land troops, under general Hardy, sailed from Brest. This squadron encountered heavy gales; but four of the ships appeared off Lough Swilly, October 12th. They did not, however, come unexpectedly; for, to their surprise, they were received by four British ships of the line and a frigate. The action which followed was fierce and obstinate,—the best part of it falling to the *Hochs*, which did not strike till almost a complete wreck. Among the few refugees who accompanied this expedition was Wolfe Tone. During the engagement he commanded one of the batteries on shore, which he fought bravely. Seeing the fatal issue at hand, he looked for death amidst the shower of balls that hissed unkindly past him. He became prisoner of war, and for some time was not distinguished from the rest of the French officers in captivity. These gentlemen were occasionally entertained at the polite and hospitable table of the earl of Cavan, where, one evening, general Tone had the misfortune to be recognised by Sir George Hill, who had formerly been his fellow-student, and by whom he was betrayed. Tone was immediately after tried in Dublin by court-martial, and condemned. He could not deny the charge, but vindicated his motives; and begged, as a

favour, to be shot. The favour having been refused, on the morning of the intended execution he attempted his own life by cutting his throat. The instrument was a small penknife, and the wound was not effectual. During the delay caused by this event, Curran moved, in the king's bench, an arrest of judgment, on the ground that the sentence was illegal, since the prisoner held no commission in the British army, and should, therefore, have been tried by the ordinary tribunals. Tone's troubles came to an easier and speedier close than could have been expected from the law; for the wound brought about his death within eight days of his conviction.

In these quiet, happy, and temperate times, we can venture, so far as the occasion and our duty permit to speak freely of this abortive and disastrous attempt at a revolution. It is likely that, in civil strife, the defeated struggle will be always denominated rebellion by the successful side. But rebellion is not dishonourable when the causes are sufficient, and the objects just. This, in the opinion of many a moderate and loyal man of the time, was the case at the outset of the rebellion of 1798. This was the case, perhaps, at the trial of Hampden, in 1643; but not so in 1647, when the death of the king was compassed,—an infamous design, which vitiated all other intentions, however laudable. So, in 1798, the leaders of the Irish, who had intolerable grievances to complain of, depraved their cause when they contemplated separation or a republic; for neither was essential, or even likely, to redress the public wrongs, or allay the national discontent.

The appeal to the constitutional right of resistance, as asserted in the revolution of '88, and substantially reasserted in the impeachment of Sacheverel, is justifiable only when matters have arrived at that extremity that all others means and courses have been proved, by trial, to be insufficient for the security of the state and the safety and liberty of the people; and even not then, unless circumstances give, upon the calmest and wisest deliberation, the strongest assurances of success. How-

ever well-meaning the man, he is yet but an indifferent patriot, who plunges his country into the horrors of civil war, as long as a chance remains of obtaining justice by patient efforts within the law. This doctrine has been for some years as generally admitted as passive obedience has been denied. As the latter was found more fatal to kings themselves than to their subjects, so fondness for change, and reckless revolt, have been always followed by the abridgment or total subversion of popular liberty and private security. Although, in 1785, Pitt, in consequence, it was said, of his defeat on the commercial bill, had conceived some designs of amalgamating the two parliaments, yet he did not venture to take any steps in that direction till the way was opened for him, fourteen years after, by the rebellion of 1798.

The act of legislative Union speedily followed the rebellion. The proposal of uniting the two parliaments met with general opposition; but it was strenuously supported by some sincere advocates, and by many who acted from mercenary motives. The ministerial influence prevailed, and the measure became law, January 1, 1801.

In 1803, another effort at rebellion was made by Robert, brother of Thomas Emmett, a clever but imprudent young man. He succeeded no further than enlisting a few associates of the lowest class. Those conspirators held their meetings in an old store off Thomas-street, and were barely sufficient to create a riot.* Nevertheless, they contemplated taking the castle of Dublin by storm. For this purpose they broke loose one evening from their rendezvous, and rushed up Thomas-street, where they piked lord Kilwarden, the humane justice of the king's bench, who happened to be passing in his carriage. Meantime, Emmett dashed on, in full regimentals, towards the castle, supported in his desperate enterprise by only a few

* So inconsiderable was this affair, which occurred on a Saturday evening, that not the slightest token of any disturbance of the ordinary state of things was to be seen in the street on the following morning.

of his wavering followers. The whole tumult was suppressed in a few hours. A short time after Emmett was made prisoner. He was tried for high treason, and executed. His untimely end is still deplored by the many admirers of his eloquence and ardent enthusiasm, and even by those who censure his rash undertaking.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GEORGE IV. TO VICTORIA, A. D. 1820 TO 1861.

GEORGE IV. AND WILLIAM IV.—George visited Ireland in 1821, and was received with enthusiasm. In 1823 Mr. O'Connell established the Catholic Association, for the purpose of procuring catholic emancipation, that is, a repeal of those laws which imposed civil disabilities and disqualifications on Roman catholics. The catholic claims were so strenuously promoted by the founder's indefatigable exertions, by the advocacy of the whigs in parliament, and other protestants, both within and without the house, and by the temper of the times, which was generally opposed to political distinctions on the score of religion, that they were several times recognised by majorities in the commons, though rejected by the lords. The hopes of the claimants were raised to the highest pitch in 1825, but again disappointed by the opposition of the upper house of parliament. The association redoubled its efforts, and appeared so formidable that it was suppressed by act of parliament; but it was remodelled by Mr. O'Connell, and became more active and powerful than ever. At length, in 1829, Sir Robert Peel and the duke of Wellington, deeming the measure necessary to the peace of the country, though long its zealous opponents, introduced the Roman catholic Relief Bill into both houses, and conducted it triumphantly through them.

One of its ablest advocates in Ireland was R. L. Sheil, whose eloquence shed lustre on the agitation of the question. Mr. O'Connell's services were rewarded by his countrymen with an annual tribute; but Mr. Sheil's were soon forgotten. Soon after emancipation, Mr. O'Connell commenced agitating for the repeal of the legislative union between England and Ireland. To suppress the meetings for this purpose a stringent temporary law was passed. For resisting this law Mr. O'Connell was tried and convicted, but the law itself expired before the judgment of the court was pronounced. For several years afterwards the "Repeal of the Union" was occasionally aroused from its slumbers.

VICTORIA, 1837.—The queen retained the services of lord Melbourne as prime minister, to the great disappointment of the tory party. On the 17th of July, within a month after her accession, parliament was dissolved. In the general election which followed, the utmost virulence was exhibited on both sides in Ireland, where the liberal candidates were generally triumphant. Early in 1838, O'Connell established the "Precursor Society," which was rapidly organized on faith of the promise that one million shillings, each shilling representing a *repealer*, would restore the native parliament. This project had its day, and its disappointment; but as it kept alive that heat and agitation from which so much were expected, the easy people were satisfied with the result. In the commencement of the session of 1839, the ministry carried in the commons the municipal bill with the eight pound franchise, but they were defeated in the lords. This year lord Ebrington succeeded as lord lieutenant the earl of Mulgrave, who was accused of having sought popularity by an undiscerning exercise of the prerogative of mercy. The able and energetic defence made by lord Morpeth, now earl of Carlisle, extricated Mulgrave by a triumphant majority of 22.

A motion of lord John Russell for the suspension of the constitution of Jamaica, which was presumed to have become unruly beyond the privileges of nonage, was car-

ried by a majority of five. As this division was conscientiously considered a defeat, the scrupulous ministry resigned, and were succeeded by Sir Robert Peel and his friends. The queen had in her service the marchioness of Normanby, wife of the late viceroy, and the duchess of Sutherland, sister of lord Morpeth, the Irish secretary. Sir Robert was apprehensive of the thwarting influences of these ladies, and demanded their dismissal. With such a request it could scarcely be expected that any woman who wished to be mistress of her own house would comply. Peel was refused, weakly resigned, and left the post to be occupied a third time by Melbourne, a man of polished acquirements, medial capacity, and its congenital tact.

In the next session, lord Morpeth introduced the municipal bill to the commons, and brought it through with a sustained display of the most decided ability, which ultimately secured upon the second reading a majority of ninety-nine. As Sir Robert Peel, one of the purest and wisest statesmen of any age or nation, had shown himself favourable to the principle of the bill, it was not very difficult to bend the usual rigidity of the upper house. It became law; and though the better classes of Roman catholics, who had naturally expected most from it, have gained almost nothing at all, still it put legal end to the petty and pernicious distinctions which existed in civic communities on religious grounds.

After some defeats in the commons on the corn laws and the extension of the elective franchise, the ministry resigned; and Sir Robert Peel again assumed the reins of power, having appeared before the house, September 16, 1841, to make his statement respecting the public business. Earl de Grey was sent to Ireland as viceroy, lord Elliot as chief secretary, and Sugden as lord chancellor.

In the year 1843, O'Connell, who had been devising and methodizing his strategy the whole preceding year, revived on a grand scale the agitation for the repeal of the legislative union, and immediately set on foot the

celebrated "Repeal Association." One shilling annual subscription qualified for membership, and one pound for the bearing of any office of honour or emolument, of which, in both sorts, a goodly number was prudently created for official despatch and the supplying of the minute ramifications of the executive, which penetrated every corner of the kingdom. The great leader selected one after another, for his places of meeting, such scenes as were most likely to awaken in the minds of his inflammable audiences the most vivid and stinging historical reminiscences; for instance, the first of those vast assemblages of the people was held at Trim, in 1843, in the very vicinity of the Boyne, where the results were adverse to their national and religious sentiments, though sufficiently glorious to their bravery. Not only the places, but for the most part the dates, were judiciously chosen with a view to dramatic effect. The day appointed for the meeting of Trim was the 16th of March, the eve of St. Patrick, patron of Ireland. There was a meeting at Mullingar, Sunday, May 14, attended by 150,000 persons; and one, on Assumption day, August 15, on Tara hill, which recalled the days of the kings and bards, as well as the fall of the rebels of '98. This was the most numerous of those assemblages called "monster meetings," and could not have consisted of less than 300,000, without distinguishing age or sex.

These meetings were followed up by Mr. O'Connell's plan for suddenly reviving the Irish parliament, by a sort of voluntary meeting in Dublin, of gentlemen who entertained his view; but as the danger of accepting any commission as delegates to a convention was understood, this project, like many of that prolific period, pined away unnoticed. The last of the "monster meetings," which was to have been held at Clontarf, on the 8th of October, was anticipated by a proclamation from the castle, issued on the preceding evening, and commanding all magistrates to prevent by force the said meeting. The timely publication of an advice from Mr. O'Connell put a stop to the design, and no doubt saved the melan-

choly consequences of a collision. The conduct of government from the first to the last of those proceedings seems to have been more crooked than wise, and more fortunate than humane. They exhibited a puerile want of firmness throughout; and their final act looks like a fit of despair, which may have ended in the destruction of thousands of harmless spectators, had the leader been bold enough to shake the pillars. The approaches to Clontarf from all the neighbouring counties were commanded; and the guns from the Pigeon-house fort swept the road from Dublin to the intended scene. It was well the defenceless multitude took their cautious leader's advice; but this advice greatly disappointed the public expectation. Within a week after, Mr. O'Connell and seven of his political friends were arrested on a charge of sedition and conspiracy; and on the 8th of November, a true bill was found against them. The trial, however, was postponed till the 15th January following, when the jury, after a prolonged trial of twenty-four days, found the traversers guilty. O'Connell was sentenced to twelve-months' imprisonment, and a fine of five hundred pounds; and each of the rest to nine months, and fifty pounds. In this famous trial talents of the highest order were displayed on both sides, and orations delivered much superior in style and substance to the loose and bombastical effusions with which Charles Phillips used to charm the bewildered ears of jurymen. Sheil, a man of various powers, but of incorrect taste, availed himself of this his greatest opportunity, and spoke with unsurpassed skill to the purpose for which he was expressly and judiciously chosen. All the speakers distinguished themselves; but Whiteside, in defence of the traversers, delivered that memorable oration which leaves it hard to say what his art cannot adorn, his genius reach, or the wealth of his imagination readily supply.

Mr. O'Connell appealed to the house of lords, who nullified the verdict. He and his fellow-martyrs, after an incarceration of six months, were liberated; but the agitation for the repeal of the union never recovered this

blow, which destroyed much of that mysterious influence O'Connell had hitherto exercised.

In 1845 Peel proposed an annual grant of £26,000 for the support of Maynooth college, in which he was successful, against very active and able opposition. This measure was followed up by Sir James Graham, who obtained a vote of £100,000 for the founding of the three lay colleges, which constitute the Queen's University in Ireland. These institutions, having had the misfortune of offering an exclusively secular education, found very limited favour with the clergy of all persuasions.

After the famine which followed on the failure of the potato crop in 1847, Sir Robert Peel became sensible of the pernicious tendency of the corn laws. Finding he could not hold office, consistently with his previous declarations, and the obligations he had with his own party, he resigned, and gave an opportunity of the reins of power to lord John Russell, who was prevented from availing himself of it by the dissensions of the whigs. Sir Robert returned, obtained a signal victory for the principles of free trade, and carried a measure more serviceable to the industrious classes than almost all the legislation of the previous century.

On the 14th of February lord George Bentinck submitted to the commons his celebrated motion, that a sum not exceeding sixteen millions should be raised on government credit, and lent out to Irish companies for the undertaking or completion of railways. The ministry resisted this wise and benevolent attempt at originating useful and remunerative public works, and negatived it by a majority of one hundred and four. Two months afterwards the parliament acknowledged the principle of Bentinck's proposition, by voting a loan of £620,000 to complete a leading line; but parliaments have not hitherto paid much regard to consistency. The country, however, gradually recovered from the gaunt and haggard aspect of starvation; for many of the peasants emigrated, and multitudes perished from disease, and deficiency of daily food.

Not long after Mr. O'Connell's release from prison, his

health began rapidly to decline. His peace of mind also was completely destroyed by the urgency of the young clever band of repealers to be put to some other work besides writing and talking, which they had been doing so long to no purpose, that they began to be apprehensive of falling into ridicule or suspicion. Mr. O'Connell thought it prudent to quarrel with them, and accordingly proposed the memorable *peace* resolutions, and denounced the *godless* colleges. The subsequent disputes with the party called *young Irelanders* may well be supposed to have hastened his end, which took place at Genoa, May 15, 1847.

Mr. Thomas Wright, who is an honest, liberal-minded man, but by no means partial to the great tribune, speaks of him thus :— " Gifted with strong natural powers, nursed in the wild dreaminess of youth amidst the mountainous girdle of a rugged and indented coast, against whose rocks the tumultuous waves of the rough Atlantic so often dashed, his innate intellect grew into a lofty and energetic force, which nothing could restrain. Educated in one of the most astute academies in Europe, he stepped forth to his work in the world, a perfect dialectician. His mind was brightened into its brilliancy and fervour by attrition with spirits affluent in all that can make men imposing upon the conduct of mankind. These all gradually died off, and left him alone and supreme in the glory that shone round him. He became omnipotent with his countrymen, and he was for years the object of their idolatry ; but upon his death-bed there was not one single monument of enduring benefit existing in his country to which he could point his finger and claim the work as his own."

If the praise were as unmingled as the language is sapid, according to the popular palate, we should have little to say ; but we do not think it just to pass by the assertion that O'Connell left behind him no monument of his vast labours, and great abilities. It is not always in our power to decree to public men the property to which they have the best claim. To whom shall be attributed the abolition of negro slavery—to Wilberforce, or to

Brougham? or to neither—but to the spirit of the age? To Brougham, indubitably; for Wilberforce was dead, and the spirit of the age would have been dead also, but for Brougham. In the same manner Grattan was dead, and the whigs would have been dead but for O'Connell. To him, therefore, is due the abolition of the penal laws. Mr. O'Connell's eloquence was prompt, natural, and persuasive. He made no pretensions to critical accuracy, never affected classic refinements; sought no images but what came without effort or were ready made, and could be repeated as often as he pleased with the original ease and freshness; never enlarged his vocabulary beyond the household routine, so that he was always intelligible, and always strong. What added most to his overwhelming force was the principle of assaulting the salients of the enemy, and concentrating his whole energy on a point. As an assailant, he was certainly one of the greatest of his day. He never descended to the nicer oratorical arts. What Grattan coveted, he disdained—to be severe and yet parliamentary. He dismissed the polished philippic, its spatters could not be seen by vulgar eyes; and poured forth an endless torrent of vituperation, in which his adversary may long look conspicuous.

Without being in the least influenced by popular sentiment,* we do not hesitate to assign to O'Connell a pro-

* We do not form our opinion of O'Connell from his forensic success, or popular acceptance. A knowledge of the law will make a capital pleader; but it is only a small professional accomplishment, and within the reach of vulgar capacity. Conversational powers, a few flourishes, with a spice of that petty thing called tact, will furnish you a surprisingly fine advocate. But neither is analytic skill, nor fluent rhetoric, oratory, any more than marble is the statue. A speaker's popularity rather disposes us to be suspicious of him. The most followed and fortunate preachers are often discovered to be coarse and rambling talkers, retailers of old stories and drivelling adages; while neat, close and instructive sermons, are delivered to unfrequented benches. What pleases the run of fashionable audiences is more likely to be rumbling declamation, or sturdy fustian, than that genuine oratory of which there are so few genuine judges. But flippancy, when it fills the ear with current passions and prejudices, sounds music, no matter how ill played.

minent place amongst the best orators of any age. He cannot, indeed, be compared in detail with any particular one who is worthy of him. In many features, however, and these the most noble, he bears a striking resemblance to Demosthenes and Brougham.

In strength and clearness he is equal to either. Of all three the grand characteristic is energy; but the energy of the Celt, though more active, is less intense than that of the Greek, and more intense than that of the Scot, though not so durable or expansive. In method, which, although less an endowment than an acquisition, is yet albeit a property of great wit, they had an equal share, but from different sources, and displaying a different organism. In his arrangement, Demosthenes observes the rhetorical rules without being burthened or narrowed by them; Brougham, early fashioned by mathematical discipline, is almost as systematic as a geometer. He keeps the subject always in view, but this severity does not impoverish or straiten him, for the stores of his learning are so vast, so rich, and so various, that the abundance of his materials would embarrass, were it not for his skill in disposing them. O'Connell is generally, even in his set speeches, negligent of method. He was, notwithstanding, capable of laying down a judicious plan, but he seems to have been impatient of the trouble. When he gave sufficient consideration to a subject, he put his materials into order with rapidity and success. In general he sought no more than a good beginning, and left the sequel to chance; for he depended on his adroitness in selecting, combining, compounding, and gilding, to extemporize a palatable dose *pro re nata*. But even on state occasions, when he came forward prepared and trimmed, he could ill conceal the toga of the pleader. Some of his ablest efforts are constructed on the scheme of a law argument; but it must be remembered that some law arguments are magnificent specimens of composition. Whatever be the subject of disquisition, learning will always afford materials to give scope to method. In this respect, Brougham has had the advantage over

almost all the public men of his time; while the springs of knowledge supplied O'Connell with but few streams to be skilfully conducted into a common channel; so that, if in the point under consideration, he appears inferior to his illustrious contemporary, it is perhaps rather from absence of means than lack of ability.

In argument the Athenian convinces more by the loftiness of his manner, than the strictness of his logic; and while he is not greater than the Briton in force, he is less in philosophical dignity. In dialectic power, the Hibernian is on a level with either, but above both in acuteness and subtlety. Whilst in the matter of the argument there may be much parity, in the conduct of it there is little. Demosthenes is vehement, vituperative, insolent; Brougham, impassioned, haughty, or derisive; O'Connell, impetuous, abusive, or insinuating. The first is never gay or embellished; the second, never indolent or frivolous; the third is always robust and busy—generally in a genial humour—and with a nose-gay whether fresh or faded.

Versatility renders O'Connell the most agreeable and entertaining. The gain, however, which results from it, does not always compensate for the trifles employed to support it. Given to grave enjoyments, yet we feel Demosthenes dry for want of those jets of vivacity, with which O'Connell sprinkles his *parterre*, and refreshes his flowers; but, on the other hand, the former imparts an enthusiasm which renders us insensible of fatigue, and compels us to persevere with him to the end. O'Connell understood, but perhaps undervalued, connexion and continuity. He frequently breaks off to present you with pleasant scenery; gives you time to contemplate the landscape; and then calls you back to resume the journey with regaled senses, and revived energy. Brougham does not draw you aside so often, or so capriciously; and when he does, it is not to lighten your burden, or to beguile your way, but to amplify the understanding—to illustrate his proofs—to triple the light, and to beautify the philosophy. Demosthenes never deviates in search of

fascinating prospects and cheerful repose ; he is stern, unaccommodating, unmerciful. He needs no rest himself, and gives you none ; he wants no stop, and grants no stay ; you are whirled to the destined goal—out of breath, but exulting in the triumphant career. Let volition listen for a moment to any of the three, and she is shorn of her wings ; she is no longer at liberty, but yields to the imperious authority of the Greek, the powerful sorcery of the Scot, or the soft seduction of the Irishman.

In imagination, that most rare, and fructifying gift of the mind, which creates, animates and illumines, which engenders tender sentiments, quickens noble passions, and sheds celestial odour over the soul—in imagination, Brougham holds the first place, and Demosthenes the second ; though both must give way to Burke, and even he to Sheridan. But in fancy, exuberant in all delights, which is hard to be distinguished from imagination, to O'Connell rightfully belongs the not undisputed sceptre.

Demosthenes, O'Connell, and Brougham, are equally remarkable for the solidity of their intellect ; but in comprehensiveness, the last has manifested superiority. O'Connell shows his knowledge of the human heart more frequently than either of the others. If he did not understand mankind better, he accommodated himself to them more ; and was better fitted to do so by the pliancy of his passions, and the bent of his opinions. Consequently he used man, and especially the ignorant, more successfully. In his sway over the affections, he is approached by neither ; and taking into consideration the different audience, and different circumstances, whatever we may have to deduct from his oratory, must be recompensed by our praise of him as an orator. In one respect he stands conspicuous : he is almost the only man that ever flattered democracy, and visibly improved it.

Each attains to the same height, but not with the same facility or grandeur. Demosthenes leaves the earth most naturally, mounts most swiftly, moves with the ease of instinct ; but at every cleaving of his wings, the poles thunder. When his rivals soar, they gain the empyrean

by a succession of mighty efforts, and with the resounding as of mighty waters : Brougham keeping his undazzled eye fixed on the orb of day ; and O'Connell calmly surveying the milder glories of the fields of air.

Between the merits of the two modern masters, whoever ventures to decide, let him not forget, that while the genius of Brougham was aided by consummate art, O'Connell's fame rests upon his genius alone. What the one produced was the mature progeny of patient gestation ; that of the other, a sudden birth. The one brought his works to perfection by repeated touches of skill ; the other, to wonderful excellence by a single felicitous stroke. In Brougham we admire the majestic proportions and classical symmetry ; in O'Connell, the flow of natural graces and youthful charms, adorning manly strength, and glowing with warm festivity.

The quarrel between Mr. O'Connell and the *Young Irelanders* begot a new party, and with it a new organization. The gentlemen who originated the secession were mostly connected with *The Nation* newspaper, whose purposes had become direct and unmistakable. They chose for their leader William Smith O'Brien, M. P., brother to the present lord Inchiquin. He had already distinguished himself on the popular side. His education was superior to that of any of his admirers ; his talents not less, though not so showy. He was not quick at bespangling his thoughts with broken metaphors ; but he could make a long patriotic speech. He was not, however, keen enough to perceive that the great body of the people were not with him. His very sincerity blinded him. He rushed headlong without the people ; and thus brought their courage into question, while they only showed their prudence and sagacity. The wisdom of the new party was shown in the choice of their chief. One of their earliest operations was to send a deputation to France, which was then labouring under a relapse of the republican fever. The mission ended in the importation of a tricolour flag, a pattern of very inconstant fashion in Ireland.

The young Irelanders assumed the title of the *Irish*

Confederation. Some of its leaders established separate organs of their opinions, under the names of *The Felon*, *The United Irishman*, and *The Tribune*. Several of the parties connected with those fierce and inflammatory publications were men of education, family, probity, and property. All, after the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, plainly saw their liberty, their means, or their lives utterly at stake; and yet not one evaded the danger, or appeared in the least dismayed by the terrible penalties that awaited their perilous proceedings. They were all, with two or three exceptions, condemned to exile or protracted imprisonment. They were, in many cases, subjected to treatment which should never be used towards gentlemen who had not forfeited their private honour. The gratuitous ill-usage of political prisoners is mean and mischievous policy, especially if it be not followed by hanging.

The activity and threatening aspect of the confederates compelled the Irish executive to proclaim the leaders as traitors; and to procure a modification, under the name of the *Treason Felony Act*, of the statute of treason. After sundry meanderings, the captain-general opened the campaign in the most unpretending manner, by investing a police-barrack, ably defended by a sergeant and six men. The heroic garrison were allowed to retire to Cashel, with their arms and all the honours of war. On the 19th of July, the general, at the head of three hundred, marched to summon the police station at Ballingarry, where there was a force of forty men. O'Brien was needlessly strengthened on his march, by the accession of about three thousand spirited volunteers. The constabulary advanced to meet him, but were forced to fly to a neighbouring farm-house, where they held out till the retreat of Mr. O'Brien, after half-an-hour's firing, and the loss of two men. Mr. O'Brien and nine others were subsequently tried and convicted at Clonmel, on the charge of high treason. Sentence of death was passed, which was commuted into transportation. After a few years' exile, they obtained a free and gracious pardon. The return of Mr.

W. S. O'Brien to his worthy and amiable family was hailed with satisfaction by all parties. His disinterestedness, his social position, his virtues, nay, his indiscretions, had conciliated much favour and general sympathy.—Every one acknowledged that he had been the victim of adulation and his own impulsive feelings.

Subsequently to these pitiful events, few others of any considerable importance occurred in this part of the empire, if we except the almost continued agrarian distress, which commenced with the blight of the potato, in 1847. No doubt, great relief has been derived from the operation of the poor laws and the introduction of foreign breadstuffs, from private benevolence, and extensive emigration; still the agriculture of the country is in an unsound state, for which it is not easy to devise a specific.

The grand exposition of the arts and manufactures, inaugurated in 1851, at the crystal palace, Hyde-park, at the instance and under the auspices of the prince consort, found a worthy imitation in the Dublin exhibition, which was officially opened, May 12, 1853. The success of this vast undertaking is mainly attributable to the liberality of William Dargan, who undertook all the charges at his own risk.

On the 29th August, her Majesty, accompanied by her Consort and two eldest sons, paid her Irish kingdom a visit; and on the following day, proceeded in state to the exhibition, where she was received with such an overflow of enthusiastic loyalty as made a deep and lasting impression on her.

The queen, thoroughly delighted with the display of useful energy and wise ambition, and appreciating the patriotism of the bold and munificent citizen who consummated the idea, paid him the delicate honour of a private visit, at his own house; and thus the queen—kind, gracious, thoughtful—left William Dargan, after having respectfully declined the offer of a title, the most distinguished of all her untitled subjects in Ireland. Society loudly applauded this mark of royal favour and

On the 14th of December, 1861, a calamity occurred, which came to every door like a private loss. It was the unexpected death of his royal highness the Prince Consort. After an illness of six days, which had its origin in a severe cold caught at a review of volunteers, the prince fell a victim to low fever. The symptoms were at first so mild, that the patient made light of them. There is reason to believe that he strained to excess his energy of spirit to conceal his physical weakness, lest he should too soon alarm that bosom, of which for twenty years he had been "the joy, the ornament, and wealth." The composedness of his manner and of his countenance, which naturally bore a pleasing expression, allayed all immediate anxiety. So remote was the apprehension of danger, that the state of his health was known to few outside the royal household, till the day before his death. Then the first bulletin of the physicians struck the country with dismay. Two days after, the sighs of sincere national affection were choked with mute grief. When the death of the royal patient was made known, the announcement plunged the people into such sorrow as had not been felt for four hundred years before.

Since the death of Henry V. no prince has been so deeply lamented, nor has any so merited public sorrow. Henry, whose frankness and justness had gained him an early popularity, died just after dazzling the nation by the splendour of his victories. It is no wonder that his premature fate was bemoaned. Albert, whose affability and benevolence had charmed and conciliated all, was snatched away as he had completed his second conquest over every field of civilization under the sun. His loss was deplored with universal sincerity. How much soever his example may be imitated by those whose duty it is to patronize the arts and sciences, still shall be felt the want of that accomplished man's taste, judgment, and enthusiasm.

When the prince came to England, he brought with him excellent qualifications,—a guileless disposition, a

pure morality, and a cultivated mind. Added to these was a determination to put his gifts and acquisitions to use. This determination was rooted in sound principles, and was the real source of his extraordinary popularity. Attracting as little notice to himself as possible, he pursued it consistently to the last. It expanded his ambition, and disposed him to seek in every direction opportunities of being serviceable.

To this determination he owes a character which has not been equalled since the time of Peter I. The work of the emperor was, indeed, more arduous than that of the prince, but neither its usefulness nor its glory the greater. The merit of the one is brought into immediate view by the force of contrast; that of the other can be traced only by minute and careful comparison. The former went abroad in search of knowledge, and brought it home, where it had been scarcely heard of; the latter entered a mine of intelligence, which he laboured incessantly to spread through all the ranks of life, and which he helped to amplify while diffusing it. What Peter did for barbarism, Albert did with equal success for civilization. The emperor wrestled against the former, and overcame it. The prince allied himself with civilization, restored it where sickly, strengthened it where weak, and crowned it with the imperishable triumph of 1861. Peter aimed at establishing a power which should be formidable; Albert laid the foundations of one that will be invincible.

There was no art, profession, or business—no scheme of living, however humble, with which the prince had not familiarized himself. Whatever embellishes life or improves its modes, became objects of his study; and whatever he had studied he desired to encourage; and in his efforts to encourage, he acquired the aptitude to improve. He devoted his attention to music and painting, to architecture and design, to mechanism and manufactures, to commerce and agriculture; nor did he neglect domestic economy. So much did he make every species of productive or ornamental labour a matter of interest,

that there was scarcely a public institution for fostering art or industry, in which he did not take a part.

All ranks in life derived some advantage either from his precept or example. The very peerage improved; the spirit of regeneration invaded it. Lords found out how a coronet may be made becoming even in democratic eyes; how technical nobility may lose distinction without being annihilated; how honour and renown may be reaped from useful citizenship. The prince was a model for every English gentleman.

Dignity of place usually excites imitation. The proximity of the surrounding parts facilitates the efforts at conformity, and speedily discloses the resemblance. The aristocracy are usually the first to take pattern by the court; there, from the commencement of her Majesty's reign, the virtues have been cultivated. The rare charms of sincerity and simplicity rendered the example attractive. Pretence, craft, and levity, were all banished. The features of nobility gradually changed, and won admiration where they had provoked aversion. Pride grew ashamed of vice; birth, of meanness. Substantial qualities were substituted for outward show. The nation recognised the altered character of the magnates. The democracy ceased to gnash their teeth against hereditary legislators; for they lived to see the upper house of parliament the most enlightened, patriotic, and worthy assembly of nobles in Europe. And to what is due that altered condition, so much as to the wholesome influence of the court on the titled class, whose own example had, for some of the previous reigns, largely tended to corrupt and degrade the people?

The prince saw clearly that labour was the corner-stone of British prosperity. Having studied its phases, he became its patron, and, when he had mastered our language sufficiently, its advocate. He examined the polity of the cottage with as much earnestness as he did the organization of the Dramatic Society or the Wellington College. His friendly counsel reached all the recesses of toil, into whose ear he breathed incessant encouragement. In re-

turn, he heard the name of Albert voiced abroad with love and veneration.

Healthy, active, and indefatigable, the prince felt never satisfied, no matter how he laboured, or with what success. His day's work was never at an end. No sooner had he finished one affair, than he glided into another, with the steady purpose of doing good. Yet he is not to be estimated by any one thing he did, but by the variety of useful employments in which he was engaged, and which filled up all his time for the public good. We must judge of him, not by what he himself performed, but by the multiplied machinery he set in motion, and wisely superintended. It is not personal prowess in combat that makes a great general, but the skill that creates an effective army, and conducts it to victory. The prince raised armies, and won victories, which will establish an era in civilization, and adorn its remotest history. What he did will be imitated; and future exhibitions will boast of their antiquity, and recall the name of Albert.

Watchful and busy, yet the prince was never distracted by bustle, or disturbed by anxiety. His virtues, hardy and perennial, bloomed in every zone of society, were healthy in every climate of opinion, and enduring in all the vicissitudes of events. His philosophy was liberal and simple, generous and cordial. In his own character frank, cautious, and temperate, his life was the expositor of his maxims, and furnished with the most forcible recommendations the principles of truth, of prudence, and of moderation. His moral code was mild without indulgence, and firm without inflexibility. The natural sweetness of his temper influenced all his sentiments. He clothed those abstract principles, which always seem so cold and stern, with a spirit of gracefulness and lenity. Whilst he was charitable to others, he was strict to himself. He presumed nothing upon his dignity; and took from it no license in any part of his conduct. Indeed, his greatest praise is where others in high position mostly fail; for, as husband and father, he adorned and

sanctified domestic life. His goodness was the gift of nature; his ethics, the result of intuitive wisdom, and early culture; so that all the excellence which crowds into his career, seems rather the effluence of his spirit, than the consequences of rule and meditation.

Whether we contemplate him in his public or in his private life, no prince ever deserved encomium better than his late royal highness. At home, as well as abroad, he was contemplative and industrious. His delight was business: a duty once recognised was sure not to be neglected, or even deferred except to a favourable opportunity. Fatigue imposed rest, but rest insinuated no effeminate ease. In the multitude of his labours, there was one which supplied perpetual relief. It was the education of his children, in which he participated with missionary zeal, and from which he derived ever-varying pleasure. He joined his exertions to those of the preceptors, and, in the tillage of the head and the heart, was the most efficient husbandman among them. The blessed work of sowing the seeds of knowledge and virtue in his young family, was rendered tenfold fruitful of joy, since it could be shared with a loving one who had an equal interest in the harvest.

The Consort bequeathed to his offspring a noble legacy, that alone which can be bequeathed in full to each of the heirs. It is the example of his virtues—an inheritance more rich and glorious, than any that could be derived from the fortuity of birth. May it be as great a treasure to them as it will be to history, which will consecrate to him an honourable place, and preserve his name on one of her most useful and pleasing pages.

QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

INTRODUCTION—SECT. I., PAGE 1.

1. What is the most ancient name of Ireland?
2. Name the Carthaginian to whom it was known as the Sacred Isle.
3. How long before Christ was Ireland known as the Sacred Isle?
4. By what name is Ireland mentioned in the poem on the Argonautic Expedition?
5. To what era is the Milesian invasion assigned?
6. Which were the three sons of Milesius, whose names are associated with Ireland? How are their names associated?
7. How do you distinguish between Greater and Less Scotia? To what period was the name of Greater Scotia retained?
8. Whence is the name Inisfail derived?
9. What is the meaning of Lia-fail? What tradition is connected with it?
10. What opinion has Dr. Petrie given with respect to the *Stone of Destiny*?
11. Name the five successive colonies which first invaded Ireland.
12. Who are the Fomorians supposed to have been?
13. What tribes are referred to Partholan? and from what country did *he* come?
14. Who was the founder of the Nemedian race; and how was he related to Partholan?
15. From whom were the Danaans descended?
16. Who dispossessed the Fomorians?
17. By what other name are the Firbolgs known?
18. Which were the Belgæ Celts or Teutons?
19. What led to the five divisions of Ireland?
20. Who overthrew the Firbolgs?
21. From whence did the Danaans bring the Stone of Destiny?
22. Whence proceeded that colonization which gave their earliest inhabitants to Scotland and England?
23. What Irish race descended, according to the Fíleas, from Farsa, grandson of Magog?
24. To whom was Niall, the son of Farsa, married?
25. Who conducted the Gadelians back to Scythia?
26. Who conducted the Gadelians from Scythia to Spain?
27. Who founded the city of Braganza?
28. Who is mentioned as the grandfather of Milesius?
29. What circumstances led to the discovery of Ireland by Ith, son of Milesius?

30. For what purpose, and at what period, was the Milesian invasion planned?
31. Mention any circumstances which cast doubts on the account given of the Milesian invasion.
32. In what century of our era did the Belgæ *probably* arrive in Ireland?
33. In what century do we find Ireland first mentioned by the name of Scotia?
34. What authority have we for saying that the term Scots did not, even in the fifth century, include all the Irish?
35. Upon what grounds does Dr. Lanigan refer the Scottish invasion to the fifth century of the Christian era?
36. To what origin are the Nemedian fables traced?
37. Who was Cormac M'Cullinan?
38. What is the testimony of the annalist, Tighernach, with regard to the records of the Scots?
39. State the opinions of Sir William Betham, and of Moore, respecting the colonization of Ireland.
40. From whence does Moore derive the Irish Celts? He refers to two very distinct origins—mention both.
41. With what well-known races are the Danaans supposed to be identical?
42. Why may the Phœnician and the Spanish colonization be considered the same?
43. Considering the most ancient *historical* inhabitants of Ireland to have been Celto-Belgic, under whom may we conjecture the Milesian conquest to have taken place?

INTRODUCTION—SECT. II., PAGE 7.

44. What connects the idolatry of the ancient Irish with that of the Canaanites?
45. Who established the Cabiric mysteries in Samothrace?
46. By whom are we told that sacrifices were offered to Ceres in an island near Britain?
47. With whose mysteries does Pliny compare those of the Druids?
48. Whence is *Druid* derived?
49. Under what name was the sun worshiped by the Irish and the Phœnicians?
50. What pagan festival was celebrated on the first of May?
51. On what other day did the ceremony take place? Describe it.
52. When, where, and how was the feast of *Samhain* celebrated?
53. What is a *cromlech*? Describe the Hag's Bed.
54. What are *cairns* and *barrows*? Mention their several uses.
55. With what are barrows often confounded?
56. Mention some particulars of Uisneach.
57. For what were *pillar* stones used?
58. What are the opinions of Dr. Petrie as to the uses of the Round Towers?
59. Give a description of the general construction of the Round Towers.

CHAPTER I., PAGE 11.

30. What provinces of Ireland fell to Heremon and Heber, respectively?
61. How did Heremon come in for all? Who succeeded him?
62. Who set up the idol *Crom-cruach*?
63. What regulations prevailed with regard to the colours allowed to be worn in garments?
64. Who appointed the assembly of the three estates on Tara?
65. By what other name was *Tara* known?
66. Who was the most celebrated of the ancient lawgivers?
67. What officers was every head of a clan obliged to maintain?
68. Where were the national annals scrutinized?
69. Who succeeded the Druids as examiners of the public records?
70. In what respect did the laws of Fodhla resemble those of the Lacedemonians and Brahmins?
71. How were the heralds, bards, and teachers supported?
72. With whose reign begins the dawn of authentic history?
73. Where was the mansion of the "Knights of the Red Branch"?
74. Who procured the abolition of the pentarchy? What subdivision was substituted? and how long did it last?
75. To whose reign, and to what year of our era, is Cuchullin assigned?
76. To what period and events do the poems of Ossian allude?
77. What opinion did Dr. Blair hold of Macpherson's Ossian?
78. How does Dr. Drummond describe Macpherson's rhapsodies?
79. State the remarkable anachronism by which Macpherson's forgery is fully established.
80. With what Roman general was Crimthan contemporary?
81. What people did Crimthan assist against the Romans?
82. What Roman historian mentions Crimthan?
83. Relate the particulars of the Milesian tyranny which caused a civil war, A. D. 82.
84. Whom did the plebeians choose as their leader?
85. Describe the massacre of the nobles. What events followed it?
86. Who were Feredach and Moran?
87. On the revolt of the Attacots, whither did Tuathal, son of Feredach, fly?
88. What led to the restoration of Tuathal?
89. What provisions were made for the becoming support of the royal dignity?
90. Of what crime was Achy guilty?
91. How did Achy escape from the punishment of his misconduct?
92. What is meant by *erie*, and by whom was it established? Did such an institution prevail anywhere else?
93. What was the name of Feidlim's celebrated son? and who was his rival?
94. Where was that battle fought, by which Conn was compelled to a division of the kingdom?
95. From whom were the princely families of Munster descended?
96. By what names were the kingdom and people of South Munster known?

97. Describe the kingdom of Thomond.
98. Who were the Dalgais or Dalcassians?
99. How did the Eugenians and Dalcassians arrange with regard to the government of the province?
100. From whom descended the Dalriadic kings?
101. Who was the mother of Carbury Riada, the founder of the Irish settlement in Argyleshire?
102. Who subdued the Picts? What kingdom was the cradle of the Scottish monarchy?
103. What eminent Scottish antiquaries and historians acknowledge that the Scottish monarchy was founded by Irish colonists?
104. What stress does Pinkerton lay upon venerable Bede's testimony?
105. What is the most ancient piece of Dalriadic history?
106. Who was Cormac Ulfida? and about what time did he flourish?
107. Why was Ulfida obliged to abdicate?
108. Who was Fingal?
109. Who was Oisín? Fighting against whom did his son Oscar fall?
110. Why was Niall of the Nine Hostages so called? When did he ascend the throne?
111. What Roman poet mentions the Irish (or Scottish) invasion of Britain?
112. What led to St. Patrick's coming to Ireland?
113. Where and how did Niall die?
114. How did Niall divide his hereditary possessions?
115. How was Niall's will observed with regard to the succession to the monarchy?
116. Into how many clans were the successors of Niall divided?
117. Who put an end to the long-established order of succession?
118. Who was the last pagan king?

CHAPTER II., PAGE 19.

119. Who was the first Christian prince?
120. In what century does Tertullian say that Christianity was introduced?
121. Who was Palladius?
122. What heresy is said to have been introduced into Ireland before the arrival of Palladius?
123. Who were the great opponents of Pelagius?
124. What proof can you give that writing was known in Ireland before A. D. 370?
125. In what year was St. Patrick born; and where?
126. In what public assembly did St. Patrick first preach the gospel?
127. Who succeeded St. Patrick in the see of Armagh?
128. State the particulars connected with the conversion of Logaire.
129. What passage in the "Confessions" of St. Patrick indicates that Christianity had been preached in Ireland before his time?
130. What is the date of St. Patrick's death?

131. What was the state of the Dalriadan colony in Scotland about A. D. 503?
132. To that period did the Irish race of princes rule in Scotland?
133. From whom was St. Columbkille descended?
134. In what year did Columba go to Iona? What were his proceedings there?
135. What led to the discontinuance of the national congress at Tara? and in whose reign did the event occur?
136. Give an account of the life and actions of St. Columbanus.
137. What memorials of him are preserved at Bobbio? What town is called after him?
138. Describe the dispute about the Easter festival.
139. What island did Aidan receive as site for his see?
140. Mention some particulars respecting Gallus, Deicola, Fursa, and Fridolin.
141. Why did Coleman, bishop of Lindisfarne, resign his see?
142. What is the best specimen of biography left us from the middle ages?
143. Mention some particulars of Cataldus and Virgilius. Also of Clement, Albinus, and Dungal.
144. To what is attributed the introduction of the mystic doctrines of Alexandria into the western schools?
145. What honourable testimony does Mosheim bear to the Irish scholarship of the eighth century?
146. What was the character of Scotus Erigena?
147. About what year did Erigena die?

CHAPTER III., PAGE 26.

148. Who revived the Leinster tribute?
149. In what year did the Danes make their first serious incursions?
150. By what name were the Danes known?
151. Mention some of their depredations committed on their way to Ireland.
152. To what circumstance has the animosity of the Danes against Christianity been attributed?
153. What atrocity did the Danes commit at Bangor?
154. Describe the conduct of Feidlim M'Crimthan.
155. How did Feidlim act upon the death of Niall Calm?
156. Describe the usurpation of Feidlim.
157. Describe the ravages of Turgesius.
158. Describe the perfidy of Melachlin, monarch.
159. Who were the brothers of Sitric? Of what towns did they make themselves masters?
160. How do you trace the Irish royal descent of her present Majesty, queen Victoria?
161. How long did the family feuds subsist between the races of Fergus and Lorn?
162. What event terminated the antipathy between the Scots and Picts?
163. In what century was Scotia applied to the union of Albany and Pictland?

164. Who removed the *Stone of Destiny* from Argyle to Scone?
165. What alliance connected three branches of the Hy-Nialla, to the prejudice of the fourth, or Tyrconnel branch?
166. Who was Cormac M'Cullinan? What was his character? What monarch of Ireland did he compel to give hostages?
167. Who succeeded Flann Sionna?
168. What is meant by *roydamna*?
169. How was the succession to the throne regulated?
170. What was the fate, and what the character of Niall Glundubh?
171. What do you know of the Culdees?
172. Who succeeded Glundubh, and who was his *roydamna*?
173. What was the policy of Callaghan, king of Cashel?
174. To whom is the foundation of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, attributed?
175. What native princes were noted for their frequent alliances with the Danes?
176. Did the depredations of the Danes cease with their conversion to Christianity?
177. Describe the successful career of Murkerta.

CHAPTER IV., PAGE 34.

178. To what tribe did Brian Boru belong? Who was his father?
179. What was the fate of Brian's brother, Mahon?
180. Who succeeded Domnal, son of Murkerta?
181. Describe the achievements of Malachy the Great.
182. In what great battle, previous to that of Clontarf, were the Danes defeated?
183. What led to the dispute between Malachy and Brian?
184. Where did Brian first defeat the powerful confederacy formed against him?
185. What were the successive victories of Brian over the Leinster princes?
186. What aggressions of Malachy provoked reprisal on Brian's part?
187. What early advantages accrued to Brian from the contest?
188. Why was Brian called Boru?
189. What trophies did Malachy bring off from the Danes?
190. By what enterprises did Brian renew his dispute, after the five years' truce, with Malachy?
191. In what year were the Danes defeated by Malachy and Brian?
192. What punishment did Brian inflict on Sitric, king of the Dublin Danes?
193. To what humiliation did Brian compel Malachy for his fresh provocations?
194. Over whom did Brian obtain his signal victory at Athlone?
195. Describe Brian's progress in the north.
196. What combination was formed in Leinster against Brian in 1014?
197. Who aided Brian at the battle of Clontarf?
198. Which of the Irish provinces became partisans of the Danes?
199. How did Brian divide his forces?

200. Who commanded the Eugenians and the Decians ?
201. Who led the Connaught forces ?
202. Who slew Sitric, son of the earl of the Orkneys, in this battle ?
203. What was the name of the Danish admiral ?
204. Where was Boru buried ?
205. After Boru's death, who claimed the succession ?
206. Who resisted the claim made on the monarchy after Brian's death ?
207. Through what territory was Donchad refused passage home ?
208. Delineate Brian Boru's character.
209. What circumstances promoted the reinstatement of Malachy ?
210. In what respect did Donchad's conduct resemble Malachy's ?
211. Note the commendable features of Malachy's character.
212. In the chronology of Malachy's reign, what proof of the recognition of constitutional principles is afforded by the Irish annalists ?
213. In what respect is Malachy's conduct, as a prince, deserving of higher praise than Brian's ?
214. On Malachy's death, how was the supreme power administered ?
215. Who disputed the pretensions of Donchad, son of Boru ?
216. Under what circumstances, when, and where, did Donchad, son of Boru, die ?
217. How was Donchad related to Harold, the last Saxon king of England ?
218. Who was the first Irish king of the Dublin Danes ?
219. Who succeeded Murchadh in 1086 ?
220. Who disputed Murkerta's pretensions to the sovereignty ?
221. What settlement was effected with regard to the succession ?
222. What mutual acknowledgments were made by Murkerta and Domnal ?
223. To whom did Murkerta resign his kingdom ?
224. What length of interregnum followed Domnal's death ?
225. By what policy did O'Connor, king of Connaught, succeed to the sovereignty ?
226. To what defection did O'Connor owe his triumph over Tur-lough O'Brien ?
227. Where did Roderic O'Connor defeat the Momonians (Munstermen) ?
228. Who at this time was the legitimate successor of the Hy-Nialls (O'Neills), and what course did he pursue ?
229. In what directions did O'Loughlin look for aid to sustain his pretensions to Tara ?
230. In what year did Roderic O'Connor succeed his father ?
231. What led to the battle of Lough Neagh ? What remarkable person fell in it ?
232. In what year did Roderic O'Connor become monarch ? What cruelties are mentioned of him ?
233. What led to the feud between O'Ruarc and Dermot M'Mur-chad ?
234. What party did Tordelbach and O'Loughlin, respectively, side with in the quarrel between the prince of Breffny and the king of Leinster ?

235. What shows that the misconduct of O'Ruarc's wife has been absurdly connected with the English invasion?
236. What side did Roderic O'Connor espouse?
237. Whither did O'Ruarc fly for refuge? and in what year?
238. What proposal did O'Ruarc make to Henry II., of England?
239. What designs had Henry II. meditated respecting Ireland, before his interview with Dermot?
240. What pope made a grant of Ireland to Henry II.?
241. What circumstances prevented Henry II. from affording direct and immediate help to Dermot?
242. What aid did the king of England give Dermot?
243. Who led the first English adventurers into Ireland?
244. Who were Robert Fitzstephen and Maurice Fitzgerald?
245. Who was Strongbow? Whom did he obtain in marriage?
246. By what impolitic concession of Roderic and O'Ruarc did Dermot profit?

CHAPTER V., PAGE 49.

247. Who were the leaders of the Welsh expedition into Ireland? Where did they land?
248. Who was Maurice Prendergast?
249. Mention the particulars of the capture of Wexford.
250. Upon whom was the barony of Forth bestowed?
251. What was the effect of Roderic's negotiation with Dermot?
252. Who aided Dermot in punishing Dublin?
253. How did Dermot act towards the king of Munster?
254. Who was Raymond le Gros?
255. Of what barbarity was Harvey de Mountmorris guilty?
256. Where did Strongbow land? and with what force?
257. Who was governor of Dublin when Dermot and his allies attacked it?
258. Who recovered Waterford?
259. To what crime did the synod of Armagh attribute the national disasters?
260. Describe the uneasy position of Strongbow after Dermot's death.
261. What Irish prelate distinguished himself by his exertions against the early adventurers?
262. What terms were demanded of Strongbow when blockaded in Dublin?
263. How was the surrender of the fort of Carrig obtained?
264. How did Strongbow appease Henry, when he met the king at Gloucester?
265. Where did Henry land? With what force? When?
266. Who repelled O'Ruarc in his attack on Dublin?
267. What king first made submission?
268. What place did the potentate of Thomond surrender?
269. Where did the valiant O'Ruarc surrender?
270. How did the monarch of Ireland act?
271. What was the real object of the decree of the synod of Cashel respecting marriage?

272. What object had Henry in enjoining the payment of tithes?
273. Whom did Henry appoint governor of Dublin in 1172?
274. Who received the patrimony of Tara?
275. How did O'Ruarc come by his death?
276. Who was De Quincy? How did he perish?
277. In Strongbow's short absence, who had become the favourite of the invaders?
278. Who sacked Lismore?
279. Who compelled Strongbow to shut himself up in Waterford?
280. Why did Raymond withdraw to Wales?
281. How was Raymond induced to return?
282. What news came from Waterford after Raymond's marriage?
283. What act of intrepidity terrified Limerick into a surrender?
284. What ecclesiastics superintended the synod in which the bull of Adrian was exhibited?
285. How did Raymond act when summoned to appear before Henry?
286. How was Raymond rewarded by the prince of Desmond for his liberation?
287. What were the terms of engagement between Roderic and Henry?
288. What constituted the *Pale*?
289. When and where did Strongbow die? Where is he interred?
290. Who succeeded Strongbow?
291. Who was Fitzaldelm?
292. Who undertook the conquest of Ulster?
293. Who was Vivian; and how employed?
294. Who encouraged Dunlevy to resist De Courcy?
295. For what purpose did Vivian convene the council of bishops in Dublin?
296. Who was sent to Murty against his father, Roderic?
297. What were the results of the expedition into Connaught, under Milo and Murty?
298. With what territory were Cogan and Fitzstephen rewarded?
299. Who obtained north Munster?
300. By whom was Fitzaldelm superseded in 1178?
301. What was the name of Strongbow's only child? To what possessions was she heir?
302. To whom was De Lacy married?
303. When and where did St. Laurence O'Toole die? By whom was he succeeded?
304. What was the fate of Miles de Cogan?
305. Who came to the relief of Cork when it was besieged by M'Carthy, of Desmond?
306. Who was Philip Barry? Who accompanied him to Ireland?
307. Who disputed Roderic's right to retain Connaught after his accession to the throne of Tara? In what year did Roderic retire to Cong?

CHAPTER VI., PAGE 63.

308. In what year did John come as governor? How old was he the time?
309. What ground of complaint was there against Philip of Worcester's administration?
310. Where did John land? How was he received? How did he behave towards the native princes?
311. How did John and his court conduct themselves while the Irish chiefs were preparing vengeance?
312. Mention the particulars of the first outbreak against John.
313. Who was Theobald Walter? What office was conferred on him?
314. In what attempt did the king of Desmond lose his life? *
315. Who routed the septs in Meath?
316. What charges were brought against De Lacy? What was his fate?
317. By what combination was De Courcy driven from Connaught?
318. How did Roderic's son, Connor (Moinmay), come by his death?
319. By whom did John (governing for Richard) replace De Courcy?
320. Where did O'Brien, in the new struggle, defeat the English army?
321. How did Donald, king of Thomond, violate his league with Desmond?
322. Detail the treachery of Murty, son of Donald O'Brien.
323. Which of Donald's sons did the English countenance?
324. Who aided Desmond in recovering Cork?
325. When and at what age did Roderic die? What was his character?
326. Who disputed the succession to Roderic?
327. With whom did De Burgh side? With whom De Courcy and De Lacy?
328. By what means did Croivdeargh become successful? How did he conciliate king John?
329. How did De Courcy come under John's displeasure? What was his fate?
330. Upon whom were De Courcy's possessions in Ulster bestowed?
331. In what year did king John land in Ireland? How did several of the barons act?
332. What were the adventures of the two De Lacys?
333. How did John act towards the native chiefs?
334. By what septs were the Bristol settlers butchered?
335. By what right was the earl of Pembroke lord of Leinster? What care did he take of Magna Charta? Who was king of England at the time?
336. On the death of Cathal O'Connor, in 1223, who was elected in succession?

* The correct account is, that Desmond was slain at a conference, by Walter de Butler.

37. To whom had Henry previously granted the reversion of Cathal's territory; and contrary to what engagement?
38. Give a detail of the treacherous plot by which Richard, earl of Pembroke, was captured.
39. Upon whose representations was the lord justice Fitzgerald directed to pluck up De Burgh by the roots?
40. Why was Fitzgerald removed? Who was chosen in his place?
41. How were the laws and the charter observed in Ireland about the thirtieth year of Henry's reign?
42. How was civic exclusion retaliated by the Irish bishops?
43. Who were summoned by Henry to join in his expedition against Scotland?
344. Who were defeated at Callan in 1260?
345. What distinguished men were imprisoned by Maurice Fitzgerald and John Fitzthomas?
346. What efforts were made by the Irish in the deputyship of Sir James Audley?

CHAPTER VII., PAGE 72.

347. On the accession of Edward I., what petition did the Irish send him?
348. Why did the English party hinder the introduction of English laws?
349. When the succession to Thomond was disputed in 1277, what side did Thomas de Clare take; and with what view?
350. Who instigated De Clare's son to the treacherous murder of his friend O'Brien Roe?
351. Mention the unprincipled conduct of O'Brien Roe's son.
352. What was the reply of Ufford, the deputy, to the king's remonstrance?
353. At what sum did the Irish offer to purchase from the king the benefits of English law?
354. What event threw a preponderance of power into the hands of the Red Earl, Richard de Burgh?
355. What was the issue of the challenge offered by the baron of Offaly to the lord justice De Vesey?
356. Who effected the two years' truce between the Geraldines and De Burghs?
357. What useful ordinances were passed by the crude parliament summoned in 1295?
358. When Edward invaded Scotland in 1299, how much of his army of 88,000 men did the Irish and Welsh compose?
359. What strange execution took place in Dublin in 1307?
360. Relate the circumstances connected with the seizure of the Knights Templars.
361. What were the characteristics of Gaveston's Irish administration?
362. Where did De Clare defeat the earl of Ulster?
363. Quote the record of the fourth Edward II. respecting the defence set up against a charge of felony for killing an Irishman.

364. After what event did the Irish deputies invite Robert Bruce to be their king?
365. Where did Edward Bruce land? and with what force?
366. With respect to Bruce, what side did Feidlim O'Connor take?
367. How did fortune fare with De Burgh and Feidlim in the north?
368. What became of Roderic, the rival of Feidlim?
369. Describe the events that ensued upon Edward Bruce's northern successes.
370. Give an account of the battle of Athenry.
371. How long was Bruce in Ireland before his brother Robert joined him?
372. What was the strength of Bruce's army when he marched on Dublin?
373. Where did Robert fix his head-quarters?
374. What caused the earl of Ulster to be committed to Dublin castle?
375. What were the chief causes of king Robert's failure?
376. How did Walter de Lacy act towards king Robert?
377. Of what neglect are the English authorities in Ireland accused during Bruce's attempt?
378. Where was the parliament held which set the earl of Ulster free?
379. By whom were the De Lacys outlawed?
380. Give some account of the famine of 1317.
381. What are the particulars of the battle at the Faughard, near Dundalk?
382. How did the English king reward Bermingham for sending him Edward Bruce's head?

CHAPTER VIII., PAGE 81.

383. To what are attributed the feuds between the Desmonds and De Burghs in the beginning of Edward the Third's reign?
384. Who was Roger Outlaw?
385. What advantages would the native Irish have derived from the use of English law?
386. What massacres of English by their own countrymen occurred in 1392?
387. How did Sir John D'Arcy put an end to the hostilities between the earls of Desmond and Ulster?
388. Who was Sir Anthony Lacy? Lord Henry Mandeville?
389. What was the fate of Lord William Bermingham?
390. What was Edward's object in summoning Norfolk and twenty-two peers to meet him in Ireland?
391. To whom was the only child of the third earl of Ulster married?
392. Who seized on the young lady's inheritance?
393. What noble families of this day trace themselves to some of the confederates?
394. Explain M'William *Eighter* and *Oughter*.
395. Describe the great rising of 1339.
396. How many Anglo-Irish had become possessed of nearly the whole country?

397. What powers did those great barons exercise?
398. How did Sir John Morris commence humbling them?
399. What was the real object in correcting some of the official abuses?
400. State Edward's ordinance with respect to English officials.
401. How did the Anglo-Irish act?
402. To what charter did the barons appeal?
403. Who went bail for Desmond in 1343?
404. By what means did Sir William Burton seize the earl of Kildare?
405. What royal ordinance gave the highest affront to the Irish?
406. What royal mandate was issued respecting ecclesiastical preferments?
407. What was the proclamation made by the duke of Clarence, when he arrived as governor?
408. How did the duke of Clarence discover the impolicy of shaking off the Anglo-Irish?
409. What was the statute of Kilkenny, 1367, directed against?
410. What account does De Windsor give of the desolation of the country?

CHAPTER IX., PAGE 91.

411. What taxes were imposed on absentees in the commencement of Richard the Second's reign?
412. For what was Courtney, the king's cousin, punished?
413. For what period was the sovereignty of Ireland conferred on De Vere, earl of Oxford?
414. Who was sent over instead of De Vere?
415. What were the effects of absenteeism?
416. In what year did Richard II. land, and where?
417. How did the Irish kings and chieftains act?
418. Describe the proceedings attending the knightings of the Irish vassals.
419. To what did Richard attribute the Irish rebellions?
420. Whom did Richard, at his leaving, appoint deputy?
421. On his return, against whom did Richard undertake an expedition? With what result?
422. In what year did Thomas, duke of Lancaster, assume the licutenancy?
423. In what year did Scroop defeat Art M'Murrough?
424. What indulgences were granted the Irish towards the close of Henry the Fourth's reign?
425. Give the particulars of the administration of Sir John Talbot.
426. What was the tenor of the petition which the *old settlers* presented to the English parliament in 1417?
427. With what forces did the prior of Kilmainham join Henry V. on his invasion of France?
428. What curious charge was brought against archbishop O'Hedian, when impeached in 1421?
429. How did the Irish parliament represent the conduct of the king's officers to him?

430. Who was lieutenant when Henry VI. came to the throne?
What leading events happened in this reign?
431. What occurred between Ormonde and the prior of Kilmainham?
432. What was the character of the duke of York's administration?
433. In the wars of the roses, what side did the Butlers and the Geraldines take, respectively?
434. What favours were heaped upon Desmond in the reign of Edward IV.?
435. By whom was Desmond imprisoned?
436. What were his chief offences?
437. What do you know of John, earl of Ormonde?
438. What favour was conferred on Conn O'Neill?

CHAPTER X., PAGE 99.

439. What was Henry the Seventh's policy?
440. Who supported the pretensions of Simnel in Ireland?
441. Where was Simnel crowned?
442. What part did the lord chancellor take?
443. How were the lords of the Pale treated by the king?
444. How was Warbeck received in Ireland?
445. What precaution did the king take with respect to the Geraldines?
446. Who joined Warbeck in Cork?
447. Who was John Walters?
448. In what year, and where, was the parliament held which passed the law called Poyning's? Describe this law?
449. Describe the interview between the attainted earl of Kildare and Henry VII.
450. What exploit obtained the garter for Kildare?

CHAPTER XI., PAGE 104.

451. Where did this fortunate earl die? and by whom was he succeeded?
452. How did the young earl escape the machinations of Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey?
453. Whom did he supersede in the lieutenancy in 1524?
454. What was Surrey's prescription for bringing "the Irish to peace"?
455. To whom was the eighth earl of Ormonde married?
456. What circumstance led to the deputyship of Kildare in 1524?
457. Upon what occasion was Sir Thomas Fitzgerald made deputy?
458. What deputy suggested to Henry VIII. *the extermination of the natives?*
459. What reason did Wolsey assign for continuing Kildare in the deputyship, even while detained in England?
460. Through whose machinations was Kildare summoned a second time to England?
461. State the particulars of the rebellion of his son, *Silken Thomas.*
462. Who captured Maynooth castle?

463. What part did the Wicklow septs take during the rebellion ?
464. What able officer was sent over to the assistance of the deputy, Skeffington ?
465. How does lord Thomas describe his destitution in prison ?
466. Where was Silken Thomas executed ?
467. Who suffered along with him ?
468. After the executions of the Geraldines, what representatives of the family remained ?
469. What procured for Gerald the protection of the O'Donnells and O'Neills ?
470. Who was employed to secure Gerald ?
471. Whither was Gerald ultimately sent for safety ?
472. Who was the first archbishop of Dublin that acknowledged the king's supremacy ?
473. What was the state of the kingdom when lord Grey resigned ?
474. Who were the enemies of Grey ? What was his fate ?
475. Who assassinated James Fitzmaurice, heir of Desmond ?
476. What haughty message did O'Toole, of Wicklow, send the lord lieutenant, St. Leger ?
477. Where did Desmond, after obtaining an amnesty, entertain the lord lieutenant ?
478. When was the title of "king of Ireland" conferred upon Henry VIII. ?
479. Give particulars respecting the meeting of that parliament.
480. Which of the native princes appeared to most advantage ?
481. What are the particulars of the interview between O'Neill and Henry, at Greenwich ?
482. What title was conferred on Morough O'Brien ?
483. What honours were conferred on his nephew, Donough ?
484. What title was conferred on the chief of the De Burghs ? and his relation, M'Gillapatrik ?
485. What was the cause of the deprivation of Dowdal, archbishop of Armagh ?
486. Who disputed with Shane O'Neill the title and estate of Ulster ?
487. What dealings had the rivals with France ?
488. When Gerald, of Kildare, returned from Italy, how was he received by Edward VI. ?
489. How did Mary act towards him ?
490. What shires or counties were founded since John's time ?

CHAPTER XII., PAGE 117.

491. What was the conduct of the earl of Sussex towards Shane O'Neill ?
492. Whom did Sussex set up against Shane ?
493. Where did O'Neill gain that victory which induced Elizabeth to wish a conference with him ?
494. Describe the particulars connected with Shane's visit to England. Who went with him ?
495. What pretender did Sussex raise up against him ?
496. What answer did Shane give to the summons requiring him to meet parliament ?

497. What were the subsequent proceedings of Shane O'Neill?
498. Upon what conditions did Shane agree to break off his alliance with the Scotch?
499. What lady did Shane particularly desire as a wife?
500. Who effected the accommodation between the Queen and Shane? Mention the particulars.
501. What was the first proof given by O'Neill of his good faith?
502. For what service did he receive Elizabeth's thanks?
503. Upon what pretext was he refused the promised peerage?
504. Who deserted Shane in his utmost need?
505. Where did Shane apply for succour?
506. What part did Oge M'Connell act?
507. How did Ormonde and Desmond administer their large domains?
508. How did Sydney get possession of Desmond?
509. What answer did Desmond give to the charge of levying coyne and livery?
510. When the earl was committed to the tower, who espoused his cause?
511. What title did M'Carthy More take?
512. Describe James Fitzmaurice's submission.
513. Whom did he accuse of encouraging him in his "wicked rebellion?"

CHAPTER XIII., PAGE 125.

514. Who were driven into rebellion by Fitton's severity?
515. Why did the earl of Thomond fly to France?
516. What was the effect of the attainder of Shane O'Neill?
517. What relaxation of the law was made in favour of Tirlogh Lynoch?
518. How many counties were added to the Pale during Sydney's administration?
519. Give an account of the plan for colonizing Claneboy.
520. How did Essex act towards M'Phelim O'Neill? (In the text it is erroneously *Phelim*; in this place, the individual meant is Brian, son of Phelim *Boccagh*).
521. Who took the field in support of the Bull of pope Gregory XIII.?
522. For what service was Sir William de Burgo created earl of Castleconnell?
523. Mention the particulars respecting the duplicity of Desmond.
524. How was the earl implicated in treasonable connivance?
525. Describe the havoc committed in Youghal.
526. Give the character of the countess of Desmond.
527. Who was appointed deputy in 1580?
528. Where, and by whom, was Grey de Wilton defeated?
529. Who completed the fort which Fitzmaurice had begun?
530. What was the conduct of lord Grey and Sir Walter Raleigh on the surrender of Limerick fort?
531. To whom was the hunting down of Desmond intrusted?
532. What was Desmond's fate?
533. Where was the earl of Desmond interred?
534. Who was Sir John Perrot? What was his fate?

- 535. What is the foulest stain on Perrot's memory?
- 536. What number of acres belonging to Desmond and his adherents were forfeited in 1680? How, and on what conditions were they sold?

CHAPTER XIV., PAGE 131.

- 537. To whom did Hugh O'Donnell apply for revenge after escaping from prison?
- 538. Make mention of some particulars respecting Hugh O'Neill's revolt.
- 539. What was the first act of Hugh to promote the northern confederacy?
- 540. Give the particulars of Tyrone's great victory at the Blackwater.
- 541. How did Red Hugh O'Donnell and M'Sorley act in the battle of the Blackwater?
- 542. On what side did O'Reilly serve?
- 543. What was the fate of marshal Bagnal?
- 544. What were the effects of this victory?
- 545. Who was sent from England to oppose O'Neill?
- 546. How did Essex conduct himself?
- 547. What part did Mountjoy, Ormonde, and Clanricarde act against Tyrone?
- 548. On what occasion did the O'Moores make Ormonde prisoner?
- 549. Who was the *Sugan* earl? Describe his adventures?
- 550. How was James, son of Gerald, earl of Desmond, received in Kilmallock?
- 551. Into whose hands did James Fitzthomas, the *Sugan* earl, fall?
- 552. How did the *Sugan* earl escape execution?
- 553. What events took place when the Spaniards landed at Kinsale?
- 554. Who built Charlemount fort?
- 555. What were the particulars of O'Neill's reconciliation?
- 556. What fort was the last hope of Spain in Ireland? What occurred there?

CHAPTER XV., PAGE 141.

- 557. On the accession of James I., what prevented the penal laws being enforced?
- 558. What title was conferred on Roderic O'Donnell?
- 559. What penal acts were enforced in Dublin?
- 560. What are the particulars of Tyrone's negotiations with Spain?
- 561. Describe the circumstances connected with Tyrone's departure. Whither did he fly?
- 562. What fortune befel Delvin?
- 563. What account can you give of Sir Cahir O'Doherty?
- 564. How many acres were forfeited by the outlawries?
- 565. What gave origin to the title, baronet?
- 566. When did Chichester summon a parliament? Of how many members did it consist?
- 567. Describe the dispute about the speakership.
- 568. In return for what advantages did the Roman catholic members assent to the infamous attainder of Tyrone?

- 569. At whose suggestion were the statutes against the "Irish enemy" repealed?
- 570. What was the character of the administration of Sir Oliver St. John?
- 571. In what year were all people forbidden to speak to the popish clergy?
- 572. By what nefarious device did James procure confiscations in Leinster?

CHAPTER XVI., PAGE 147.

- 573. What were the intolerant proceedings of Ussher?
- 574. In what year was Sir Thomas Wentworth made deputy?
- 575. How did he manage the several parties?
- 576. What were the graces? How did Wentworth act respecting them?
- 577. How was Wentworth's conduct received by Charles?
- 578. How did Wentworth proceed with the church?
- 579. In what manner did Wentworth represent the results of his policy to Laud? What power was given by the statutes of *Wills and Uses*?
- 580. By what means did Wentworth attempt to plant Connaught?
- 581. What were the events connected with the Galway jury?
- 582. What did the Castle chamber resemble?
- 583. Describe Wentworth's conduct towards lord Mountmorris.
- 584. What was the state of the revenue, and of commerce?
- 585. What trade did Wentworth ruin? What manufacture did he encourage?
- 586. To what condition did he purpose to reduce the Irish?

CHAPTER XVII., PAGE 152.

- 587. What various policy did he adopt towards the puritans, the churchmen, and the catholics?
- 588. Give a sketch of Wentworth's moral, mental, and political character.
- 589. For what purpose did he use the contributions he obtained from the Irish parliament?
- 590. What instructions did the king forward to Wentworth respecting parliament?
- 591. How did Wentworth treat the lords of the Pale?
- 592. What tranquillizing enactments passed the parliament then called?
- 593. Why was Wentworth called to Scotland?
- 594. What sum did he subscribe to the voluntary contribution? How was he rewarded?
- 595. What change of policy took place in the Irish parliament?
- 596. What beneficial measures of Strafford did the parliament condemn?
- 597. What took place respecting the statement of grievances drawn up by the commons?
- 598. To what body were the sixteen articles presented in England?
- 599. How did Strafford behave in the administration of the north of England?

600. Upon what misconduct were the principal accusations against Strafford founded ?
601. What state of things helped to foment the *great rebellion* of 1641 ?
602. To what causes do the king and the duke of Ormonde attribute the revolt ?
603. What threatening expression was made use of by Sir William Parsons at a public entertainment ?
604. Who were the earliest leaders of the insurrection ?
605. What influence had the state of England on the hopes of the leaders ?
606. Is it probable that the leaders used the king's name ? How ?
607. Who first projected the rising of 1641 ?
608. On what day was the castle to have been surprised ?
609. Who betrayed the design to Sir W. Parsons ?
610. How did Sir Phelim O'Neill get possession of Charlemount castle ?
611. Of what policy are the lords justices accused ?
612. In what situation were the Roman catholic gentlemen of the south ?
613. What device rendered the authority of Sir Phelim boundless ?
614. What conduct disgraced Sir Phelim ?
615. What took place at Island Magee ?
616. What did lord Castlehaven think of the early proceedings ?
617. What effects were produced by the policy of the lord president of Munster ?
618. What were the effects of Sir Phelim's victory at Julianstown ?
619. Who relieved Drogheda ?
620. What revolting scenes took place in Dublin ?
621. How did lord Gormanstown act on the summons of the justices ?
622. Give the character of Parsons and Borlace.
623. What reply did Roger Moore give when asked why he appeared in arms within the Pale ?

CHAPTER XVIII., PAGE 16'.

624. What occurred at the synod of Kells ? What form of government was instituted ? Who was chosen president of the supreme council ?
625. Where was the seat of government fixed ?
626. What proofs of their loyalty did the confederates give ?
627. What was the legend on their official seal ?
628. What are the leading points of the petition sent to the king ?
629. Who were the provincial generals ? Who were the most conspicuous leaders ?
630. What were the first successes of Preston ?
631. Who compelled Ormonde to retire from Ross ?
632. What led to Preston's defeat at Temple-Wodigan ?
633. To whom did the king issue the commission, dated January 11, 1643 ?
634. How did the justices corrupt the king's communication ?
635. What was the conduct of the justices when they found the confederates *would* be loyal ?
636. Who defeated colonel Crawford ? Where ?

637. When did the general assembly meet for the second time?
638. From whom did the confederates receive envoys?
639. Detail the subsequent successes of the confederate generals.
640. What account does Percival give of Ormonde's prospects?
641. What base offer, respecting his treaty with the confederates, did Ormonde make to the citizens of Dublin?
642. By what pretence did Ormonde effect a truce with the confederate commissioners?
643. Into what parties was the supreme council divided?
644. Whom did the English or rebel parliament commission as commander-in-chief of Ulster?
645. Point out the perfidy of Ormonde in respect to the deputation to Oxford.
646. What was the extent of the king's liberality?
647. How did Inchiquin treat the inhabitants of Youghal and Kinsale?
648. What was the object of Inchiquin's truce, April 10, 1645, with Purcell?
649. Who took Duncannon fort from Esmond?
650. What were the successes of the parliamentarians in Connaught?
651. Whom did Charles appoint to negotiate with the confederates instead of Ormonde?
652. What offer did the confederates make the king in return for simple toleration?
653. Who was Belling? Who Rinuccini?
654. What prevented the interview between Rinuccini and the queen?
655. How was the nuncio received in Kilkenny? What party was opposed to the nuncioists?
656. To whom was Glamorgan married?
657. What was the nature of the warrant Glamorgan held from the king?
658. What made the nuncio doubtful of Glamorgan? What was the leading policy of the nuncio throughout?
659. Upon whom did the nuncio most depend?
660. What was Ormonde's object in arresting Glamorgan?
661. How did the puritans come to know of Glamorgan's commission?
662. What was Charles's conduct on this affair?
663. What were the chief articles of the treaty of March 28, 1646, between Ormonde and Muskerry?
664. What prevented the contingent of 6000 men from joining Charles?
665. What was the conduct of Digby?
666. Who reduced Bunratty castle?
667. What great battle was fought on the 5th of June, 1646? Who commanded on each side? Give a description of the contest?
668. What different sentiments actuated both parties?
669. What was the loss of the confederates in the battle of Benburb?
670. On what grounds did the nuncio oppose Glamorgan's articles?
671. In what terms did Charles aver his sincerity in the letter to Glamorgan, dated from Newcastle?

672. What was the tenor of the letter which the king wrote at the same time to Ormonde?

CHAPTER XIX., PAGE 178.

673. In what places was the proclamation of the peace prevented?
 674. Where was held the synod which condemned the peace?
 675. Which of the confederate generals supported the damnatory decree?
 676. What was the first act of the nuncio on his return to Kilkenny?
 677. How did O'Neill and Preston act when they threatened Dublin with a siege?
 678. Why did the nuncio, when at Lucan, reject the proposals of Ormonde?
 679. What were Ormonde's motives in withholding toleration?
 680. Describe Ormonde's attempt to detach Preston from the confederates.
 681. Who were Ormonde's supporters in the supreme council?
 682. Who defeated Ormonde's plot with Preston?
 683. After what event were the imprisoned members of the council released?
 684. Who effected the cessation of hostilities which saved Ormonde's army?
 685. In what character did Ormonde suggest that the Irish should be considered by the king?
 686. How were the confederated lords and commons represented in Kilkenny castle, January 11, 1647?
 687. How did the nuncio address them?
 688. Describe the dissensions of the assembly. How were they appeased? Who was chairman?
 689. To what resolution did they come regarding the peace with Ormonde?
 690. What were the new demands of Ormonde? How many members supported them?
 691. What were the enlarged demands of the general assembly?
 692. Did the confederates still maintain their loyalty?
 693. What motives actuated Ormonde in breaking with the confederates altogether?
 694. Describe the spirited conduct of the confederates.
 695. What were the proceedings of Inchiquin?
 696. What would have been the probable result had Ormonde acted candidly?
 697. Had Ormonde the royal authority to surrender Dublin and Drogheda?
 698. When the truce expired, how did Preston proceed?
 699. Who was Dr. Leyburn? How was he employed?
 700. Why did Ormonde consent to a truce for three weeks? At its expiration how did he act?
 701. How did Muskerry recover his command; and upon whom did he devolve it?
 702. At what rate did Ormonde sell himself to the parliamentary rebels?

703. Whither did Ormonde ultimately withdraw? Who was colonel Jones?
704. Relate the particulars of the battle of Dungan-hill. What was the loss of the confederates?
705. Who was Colkitto?
706. What were the tactics of Owen Roe at Dungan-hill. What the results?
707. What change of tone took place in the Butlers and Muskerry?
708. Who brought the affairs of Munster to ruin by his imbecility?
709. What was Taafe's conduct with respect to the defence of Cashel?
710. How many were butchered in Cashel by Murrough O'Brien?
711. What perfidious acts determine the character of Taafe?
712. Who defended Clonmel against Murrough O'Brien?
713. Who was instructed to open a new campaign against Inchiquin?
714. Where were Taafe's head-quarters?
715. Where did the first general engagement take place between Taafe and O'Brien?
716. What was the tenor of the letter sent by O'Brien previously to the battle?
717. What observations have you to make respecting that battle, and the principal commanders?
718. What distinguished leader fell in the battle of Mallow?
719. Who commanded the cavalry in the battle of Mallow?

CHAPTER XX. PAGE 194.

720. What special reasons hindered the council from breaking with Owen O'Neill?
721. What event put an end to the vacillation of the supreme council?
722. What perilous projects were entertained by the council? To what courts were agents deputed?
723. What took place between the queen and the French deputation?
724. During the French mission, what took place between Inchiquin and the parliamentarians?
725. What was the character of Inchiquin?
726. What offer did O'Neill make respecting Inchiquin?
727. What occurred that increased the council's fears of O'Neill? What alleviated these fears?
728. What bargain did Inchiquin make with the council?
729. Why did the nuncio hesitate to meet the assembly?
730. What exception, with respect to religion, was made by Inchiquin?
731. How did Rinuccini act?
732. What leaders were now opposed to O'Neill and Jones?
733. What happened between O'Neill and Rinuccini at Maryborough?
734. What offer from the confederates came to Rinuccini?
735. What broke off the negotiations, and what were the immediate consequences?
736. What were the proceedings of the nuncio in Galway?

737. Describe the proceedings on Ormonde's return.
738. How was the new treaty with Ormonde received?
739. In what respect did this treaty fail?
740. Who defeated Ormonde at Rathmines?
741. Why did O'Neill join the parliamentarians?
742. Who defended Drogheda against Cromwell?
743. Give a general detail of Cromwell's proceedings?
744. Give some particulars of the siege of Drogheda?
745. Who held the command of Wexford? Who betrayed it? In what language does Cromwell describe his own atrocity?
746. Compare Boru, Feidlim O' Connor, and Owen Roe.
747. Where was Owen educated? What town did he defend against the French? How may he be compared with the Cid?
748. What is Carte's character of Owen O'Neill?
749. Who compelled Cromwell to raise the siege of Waterford?
750. Who became Ormonde's rival?
751. Why was Ormonde refused admission into Limerick?
752. Who compelled Limerick to surrender, 1651?
753. To what portion of Ireland were the conquered restricted?
754. On the dissolution of the long parliament, what new political arrangement was made respecting the three kingdoms?
755. Who succeeded Fleetwood as lord deputy?
756. What sum was voted Charles II. by the Dublin convention?
757. What was the fate of Sir Phelim O'Neill? His noble conduct?

CHAPTER XXI., PAGE 207.

758. Who were excluded from the benefit of the act of indemnity?
759. Who were excluded from the upper house of parliament?
760. Who were entitled to the first claims under the settlement?
761. By what devices were three thousand four hundred parties debarred and ruined?
762. In what year was Ormonde reappointed to the lieutenantancy?
763. What is Dr. Leland's account of the Irish popish plot?
764. What charges were brought against Dr. Oliver Plunket?
765. What infamous means were taken to condemn him?
766. Who succeeded Hyde, earl of Clarendon, as lord lieutenant?
767. What was Tyrconnel's mistake respecting Londonderry?
768. Who defended Londonderry? Who commanded the besieging force? Of what brutality was Rosen guilty?
769. Who relieved Derry? How many men were lost before it?
770. How many individuals were put in jeopardy by the attainder for absence? What proceedings were taken on the act of settlement? Was the reversion of the act of settlement a gratuitous wrong?
771. When, and with what force, did Schonberg land? When and where did William land?
772. On what day was the battle of the Boyne fought? What was the strength on each side?
773. Who was commander-in-chief under James?
774. Who were William's principal officers?
775. How did duke Schonberg and Walker come by their death?

776. Who commanded the dragoons sent to guard the pass at Rosnaree? Who the French division?
777. Who attempted the ford at Oldbridge?
778. Who commanded the French huguenots?
779. Who commanded William's left wing? At what ford was it posted? At what time did William pass over?
780. Describe the events at Oldbridge. How did young Schonberg and Berwick distinguish themselves?
781. To whom was the defence of the fords intrusted? How were the defenders neglected?
782. Whom did William choose for his body-guard?
783. What were James's proceedings after his defeat?

CHAPTER XXII., PAGE 217.

784. Where did William encamp near Dublin?
785. Who laid siege to Athlone? Who defended it?
786. After having failed at Athlone, whither did Douglas retire?
787. What force had William at the first siege (so called) of Limerick? Who commanded the garrison?
788. Why did the French division abandon Limerick?
789. By what stratagem did Sarsfield intercept the battering train?
790. What were the circumstances attending William's repulse?
791. What loss did William sustain? What did he do after abandoning the trenches?
792. What cabal was formed against Tyrconnel?
793. Who were the French officers that came over in May?
794. On what day did Ginkell appear before Athlone?
795. Where was St. Ruth encamped? and with what force?
796. Describe the particulars of the fall of Athlone.
797. To what animadversions is the conduct of the Irish leaders exposed?
798. Whither did St. Ruth and Tyrconnel, respectively, proceed?
799. Describe St. Ruth's disposition at Aughrim.
800. What were the disproportions of the force of James and Ginkell?
801. How did St. Ruth come by his death?
802. Of what misconduct has Sarsfield been accused?
803. After the battle, to what places did the Irish army retreat?
804. To whom did Galway surrender?
805. When and where did Tyrconnel die?
806. Who was entrusted with the defence of the Shannon? How did he behave?
807. Who defended the works at Thomond-bridge? What caused the great slaughter there?
808. To what state was the garrison reduced when they demanded a parley?
809. What were the civil and religious articles of the capitulation?
810. How was the treaty observed?
811. What was the origin of the "Irish brigade?"

CHAPTER XXIII., PAGE 229.

812. What was the origin of the penal laws ?
813. To what origin does Burke assign them ?
814. What are the special points of the 28th of Elizabeth ?
815. How does Sydney describe Connaught and Munster in 1567 ?
816. In what reigns were the penal laws particularly enforced ?
817. How does Macaulay contrast the operation of the penal laws in Ireland with their operation in England ?
818. What proofs can you give of William's tolerant and liberal principles ?
819. What is the testimony of Matthew O'Connor, of the *Catholic Board*, with respect to William's liberality in matters of religion ? What testimony is derivable from Story ?
820. What is William's own avowal, in his letter to Leopold ?
821. To what coercive power had William to yield in acting against his honour and inclination, with respect to the treaty of Limerick ?
822. How does Dr. Leslie describe the treatment of the Roman catholics in 1692 ?
823. What recommendation, respecting the distinction of parties, was issued by the Irish lords justices in 1715 ?
824. How long did the penal code exist, in a state of greater or less activity ? When was this code repealed altogether ?
825. What is the argument of "The Case of Ireland ?" Who was the author ?
826. How many of William's grants did the parliament resume ?
827. At what value were the grants estimated ?
828. Who was Elizabeth Villiers ?
829. What reduced William to the necessity of yielding to the parliament ?
830. How did parliament act with regard to the royal authority ?

CHAPTER XXIV., PAGE 241.

831. What acts, as parts of the *penal code*, were passed in the reign of Anne ? What grievances did they create ?
832. By whom were the Roman catholics defended ?
833. What principles did the whigs support ? Who were the *jacobites* ?
834. What were the political doctrines of the high-churchmen ?
835. To whom did the nonjurors acknowledge allegiance ?
836. What event revived the dispute respecting the jurisdiction of the Irish house of lords ?
837. What do you know of the Sherlock and Annesley case ?
838. Who wrote the *Drapier's Letters* ? What affairs are connected with them ?
839. How were the Roman catholics rewarded for the expression of their loyalty to George II. ?
840. What do you know concerning the administration of the earl of Chesterfield ?

- 841. Who was the *Young Pretender* ?
- 842. State what you know of Charles Lucas.
- 843. Describe the tumult occasioned in Dublin, in 1759, by rumours of a legislative union.
- 844. What are the particulars of the invasion under the command of Confians and Thurot ?

CHAPTER XXV., PAGE 245.

- 845. What illegal associations or secret societies had their origin in the early part of the reign of George III. ?
- 846. Under what auspices were the restraints on commerce removed ?
- 847. What do you know of Grattan, Flood, and Burgh ?
- 848. What amendment did the prime sergeant propose to the address of 1779 ?
- 849. Who was chosen commander-in-chief of the volunteers ?
- 850. How did the popular members act, when the surrender of Cornwallis became known ?
- 851. Where did the first meeting of the volunteer delegates take place ? What were their resolutions ?
- 852. When the Irish parliament declared their independence, how did the English government act ?
- 853. How did the Irish parliament reward Grattan's services ?
- 854. What event led to the acknowledgment of the independence of the Irish law courts ?
- 855. Who introduced the bill for *parliamentary reform* in the Irish commons ? What was the state of the representation ?
- 856. What was the objection started by Yelverton ?
- 857. What effect had the French revolution on the question of parliamentary reform ?
- 858. What were the original objects of the *United Irishmen* ? What were the views of Wolfe Tone ?
- 859. State what you know of Rowan and Tandy.
- 860. For what was the Rev. Mr. Jackson brought to trial ?
- 861. Who were the *Peep-o'-day* boys ; and the *Defenders* ?
- 862. What prevented the rising of the united-men of Ulster in 1797 ?
- 863. Who was Thomas Reynolds ?
- 864. What was the manner of Lord Edward Fitzgerald's death ?
- 865. What was to have been the signal for the general rising ?
- 866. Who was Father John Murphy ?
- 867. What took place at Vinegar-hill ?
- 868. What do you know of Sir James Duff ?
- 869. Give some further account of the progress and decay of the rebellion.
- 870. Who were Henry and John Sheares ?
- 871. Who was lord lieutenant when the act of amnesty passed ?
- 872. What are the particulars of Humber's expedition ?
- 873. What was the conduct of general Trench at Killala ?
- 874. From what place did the expedition under Hardy sail ? Where did it land ? Describe the naval engagement.

875. What were the circumstances connected with the fate of Wolfe Tone?
876. What remarkable event speedily followed the rebellion of 1798?
877. What remarkable event took place in Dublin in 1803? What remarkable man was connected with it?
878. What do you know of lord Kilwarden?

CHAPTER XXVI., PAGE 260.

879. In what year and by whom was the catholic association established? and for what purpose?
880. By whom was emancipation defeated in 1825?
881. In what year was the Roman catholic relief bill passed? Under what administration?
882. How were the services of O'Connell and Sheil rewarded?
883. Who was prime minister at the accession of queen Victoria?
884. In what year did Victoria ascend the throne?
885. How soon after her accession was parliament dissolved?
886. What candidates were generally successful in the ensuing general elections?
887. When, and with what object, was the "Precursor Society" established?
888. What charge was brought against the earl of Mulgrave in the house of lords? Who defended him?
889. What was the consequence of lord John Russell's defeat on his motion respecting Jamaica?
890. What important measure passed the commons early in the session of 1839?
891. At what annual sum was the municipal franchise rated?
892. With what remarkable circumstance are the names of the marchioness of Normanby and the duchess of Sutherland connected?
893. To whom was the duchess of Sutherland sister?
894. Who introduced the municipal reform bill into the house of commons?
895. What majority did lord Morpeth succeed in obtaining on the second reading of the bill?
896. What great and good statesman influenced the lords to assent to the municipal bill?
897. What circumstances restored Sir Robert Peel to power in 1841?
898. Whom did Sir Robert Peel send to Ireland as viceroy, in 1841?
899. Whom did Peel appoint lord chancellor of Ireland in 1841? and whom as chief secretary?
900. Give an account of the "Repeal Association," and of the "monster meetings" of 1843?
901. What motives influenced the selection of particular situations for the holding of the "repeal" meetings of 1843? Name some of the places where the meetings were held? and the number attending them? Where was the last of the "monster meetings" to have been held? and on what day?

902. What were the circumstances connected with the meeting which was to have been held at Clontarf?
903. What was the charge upon which O'Connell and his friends were tried? How long did the trial last?
904. What put an end to the imprisonment of the traversers?
905. Who proposed the grant to Maynooth college?
906. What event led to Peel's change of opinion on the corn laws?
907. What was the proposal of lord George Bentinck?
908. Describe the circumstances connected with O'Connell's death?
909. State the particular points in which O'Connell, as an orator, may be compared with Demosthenes and Brougham?
910. Whom did the young Irishmen choose for their leader?
911. What do you know of the parties connected with *The Felon*, *The United Irishman*, and *The Tribune*?
912. What took place at Ballingarry? On what charge were Smith O'Brien and nine of his friends tried at Clonmel?
913. Who proposed the great exhibition of arts and manufactures at Hyde Park, in 1851? What exhibition followed? and when was it opened?
914. What do you know respecting William Dargan?
915. Upon her majesty's visit to the Dublin exhibition in August, 1853, what honour did she confer on William Dargan?
916. What particulars can you mention of his royal highness, Albert, the Prince Consort?
917. Mention the tastes and useful pursuits of the prince consort? How did he act as an encourager of the arts and sciences?
918. What moral benefits may be justly referred to the character of the court kept for nearly a quarter of a century by her majesty and her consort, the late prince Albert?

APPENDIX.

ON THE USE OF THE PREFIXES *O'* AND *Mac* TO IRISH NAMES.

THE prefixes *O* and *Mac* were unknown to the Irish till about the time of Brian Boru, whose family name is Kennedy. At that period those who assumed *Mac* meant thereby to indicate their father; and those who assumed *O*, their grandfather; but the use of either has long ceased to be a mark of distinction. Distinction, in this respect, depends chiefly on genealogical documents; and these, of a worthy character, are very rare. Before the English invasion a patronymic was unknown in Ireland; and some families are so well aware of this, that they reject *O* and *Mac* to avoid a question of descent. That such patronymics gave rise to great difficulties is evident from what O'Donovan states in the following Article,* where we find Mageoghegan struggling to be a Niall.

"Dr. Keating and his cotemporary Gratianus Lucius have asserted, on the authority of the ancient Irish MSS., that family names or surnames first became hereditary in Ireland in the reign of Brian Boru, in the beginning of the eleventh century. 'He [king Brian] was the first who ordained that a certain surname should be imposed on every tribe, in order that it might be the more easily known from what stock each family was descended; for previous to his time surnames were unfixed, and were discoverable only by tracing a long line of ancestors.'†

"This assertion has been repeated by all the subsequent Irish writers, but none of them have attempted either to question or prove it. It seems, however, generally true, and also that in the formation of surnames, at this period, the several families adopted the names of their fathers or grandfathers. It would appear, however, from some pedigrees of acknowledged authenticity, that in a few instances the surnames were assumed from remoter ancestors, as in the families of the O'Dowds and O'Kevans in Tireragh, in which the chiefs from whom the names were taken were cotemporary with St. Gerald of Mayo, who flourished in the seventh century; and in the family of O'Neill, who took their surname

* "Origin and Meanings of Irish Family Names."—Irish Penny Journal, No. XLVI. 1841. Published by Gunn and Cameron, Dublin.

† Translation from original Latin MS.

from Niall Glunduv, monarch of Ireland, who was killed by the Danes, in the year 919. It is obvious also from the authentic Irish annals, that there are many Irish surnames now in use which were called after ancestors who flourished long subsequent to the reign of Brian. But it is a fact that the greater number of the more distinguished Irish family names were assumed from ancestors who were cotemporary with this monarch; and though we have as yet discovered no older authority than Dr. Keating, for showing that surnames were first established in Ireland in his time, I am satisfied that authorities which would prove it existed in the time of Keating; for that writer, though a very injudicious critic, was nevertheless a faithful compiler. Until, however, we discover a genuine copy of the edict published by the monarch Brian, commanding that the surnames to be borne should be taken from the chieftains who flourished in his own time,—if such edict were ever promulgated, we must be content to relinquish the prospect of a final decision of this question. At the same time, it must be conceded that the evidences furnished by the authentic annals and pedigrees in behalf of it are very strong, and may in themselves be regarded as almost sufficient to settle the question.

"It appears, then, from the most authentic annals and pedigrees, that the O'Briens of Thomond took their name from the monarch Brian Boru himself, who was killed in the Battle of Clontarf, in the year 1014, and that family names were formed either from the names of the chieftains who fought in that battle, or from those of their sons or fathers:—thus, the O'Mahonys of Desmond are named from Mahon, the son of Kian, king of Desmond, who fought in this battle; the O'Donohoes from Donogh, whose father Donnell was the second in command over the Eugénian forces in the same battle; the O'Donovans from Donovan, whose son Cathal commanded the Hy-Cairbre in the same battle; the O'Dugans of Fermoy from Dugan, whose son Gevenagh commanded the race of the Druid Mogh Roth in the same battle; the O'Faelans or Phelans of the Desies from Faolan, whose son Mothla commanded the Desii of Munster in the same memorable battle; as were the Mac Murroghs of Leinster from Murrough, whose son Maelmordha, king of Leinster, assisted the Danes against the Irish monarch.

"The Mac Carthys of Desmond are named from Carrthach (the son of Saerbhreathach), who is mentioned in the Irish annals as having fought the battle of Maelkenny, on the river Suir, in the year 1043; the O'Conors of Connaught from Conor or Concovar, who died in the year 971; the O'Melaghlinns of Meath, the chiefs of the southern Hy-Niall race, from Maelseachlainn, or Malachy II. monarch of Ireland, who died in the year 1022; the Magillapatricks or Fitzpatricks of Ossory from Gillapatrik, chief of Ossory, who was killed in the year 995, &c. &c.

"From these and other evidences furnished by the Irish annals, it appears certain then that the most distinguished surnames in

Ireland were taken from the names of progenitors who flourished in the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century. But there are instances to be met with of surnames which had been established in the tenth century having been changed to others which were called after progenitors who flourished at a later period, as O'Malloni of Moylurg, to Mac Dermot; and O'Laughlin, head of the northern Hy-Niall, to Mac Laughlin. There are also instances of minor branches of great families having changed the original prefix O to Mac and Mac O, or Mac I, when they had acquired new territories and become independent families, as O'Brien to Mac I-Brien, and Mac Brien in the instances of Mac I-Brien Arra, Mac Brien Coonagh, and Mac Brien Aharlagh, all offshoots from the great family of Thomond; and O'Neill to Mac I-Neill Boy, in the instance of the branch of the great Tyrone family who settled in the fourteenth century eastward of the river Bann, in the counties of Down and Antrim.

"This is all that we know of the origin of Irish surnames. Sir James Ware agrees with Keating and Gratianus Lucius, that surnames became hereditary in Ireland in the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century; and adds, that they became hereditary in England and France about the same period.

"Irish family names or surnames then are formed from the genitive case of names of ancestors who flourished in the tenth century, and at later periods, by prefixing O, or Mac, as O'Neill, Mac Carthy, &c. O literally signifies grandson, in which sense it is still spoken in the province of Ulster; and in a more enlarged sense any male descendant, like the Latin *nepos*: and Mac literally signifies son, and in a more extended sense any male descendant. The former word is translated *nepos* by all the writers of Irish history in the Latin language, from Adamnan to Dr. O'Connor, and the latter, *filius*; from which it is clear that it is synonymous with the Welsh prefix *Map* (abbreviated to *Ap*), and with the Anglo-Norman *Fitz*, which Horne Tooke has proved to be a corruption of the Latin *filius*. Giraldus Cambrensis latinizes the name of the king of Leinster, Dermot Mac Murchadh, *Dermitius Murchardides*, from which it may be clearly perceived that he regarded the prefix Mac as equivalent to the Greek patronymic termination *ides*. The only difference therefore to be observed between O and Mac in surnames is, that the family who took the prefix of Mac called themselves after their father, and those who took the prefix O formed their surname from the name of their grandfather. Ni, meaning daughter, was always prefixed to names of women, as O and Mac meant male descendants; but this usage is now obsolete.

"It is not perhaps an unlikely conjecture that at the period when surnames were first ordered to be made hereditary, some families went back several generations to select an illustrious ancestor on whom to build themselves a name. A most extraordinary

instance of this mode of forming names occurred in our own time in Connaught, where John Mageoghegan, Esq. of Bunowen castle, in the west of the county of Galway, applied to his majesty king George IV., for license to reject the name which his ancestors had borne for eight hundred years from their ancestor Eochagan, chief of Kinel Fiacha, in the now county of Westmeath, in the tenth century, and to take a new name from his more ancient and more illustrious ancestor, Niall of the Nine Hostages, monarch of Ireland in the fourth century. His majesty granted this license, and the son of John Mageoghegan is now called John Augustus O'Neill, that is, John Augustus, DESCENDANT of Niall of the Nine Hostages. The other branches of the family of Mageoghegan, however, still retain the surname which was established in the reign of Brian Boru as the distinguishing appellative of the race of Fiacha, the son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and the ancestor from whom the Mageoghegans had taken their *tribe* name.

"From the similarity and almost complete identity of the meanings affixed to the words O and Mac in surnames, it might be expected that they should be popularly considered as conferring each the same respectability on the bearer; yet this is far from being the case, for it is popularly believed in every part of Ireland that the prefix O was a kind of title among the Irish, while Mac is a mark of no distinction whatever, and that any common Irishman may bear the prefix Mac, while he must have some claims to gentility of birth before he can presume to prefix O to his name. This is universally the feeling in the province of Connaught, where the gentry of Milesian descent are called O'Conor, O'Flahertie, O'Malley, &c.; and the peasantry, their collateral relatives, Connor, Flaherty, Malley. All this, however, is a popular error, for the prefix O is in no wise whatever more respectable than Mac, nor is either the one or the other an index to any respectability whatever, inasmuch as every single family of Fírbolgic, Milesian, or Danian origin in Ireland, is entitled to bear either O or Mac as the first part of their surname. It is popularly known that O'Neill was king of Ulster, and O'Conor king of Connaught, and hence it is assumed that the prefix O is a title of great distinction; but it is never taken into consideration that O'Hallion was the name of the Irish Geocach or beggar who murdered O'Mulloy of Feara-Keall in the year 1110, or that Mac Carthy was king of Desmond, or Mac Murrough was king of Leinster! It is therefore a positive fact that the prefixes O and Mac are of equal import, both meaning male descendant, and that neither is an indication of any respectability whatever, except where the pedigree is proved and the history of the family known. To illustrate this by an example: The O prefixed to my own name is an index of my descent from Donovan, the son of Cathal, chief of the Hy-Figinte, who was killed by Brian Boru in the year 977; but the Mac prefixed in the surname of Mac Carthy is an indication of higher descent, namely,

from Carrthach, the great-grandson of Callaghan Cashel, king of Munster, whose descendants held the highest rank in Desmond till the civil wars of 1641.

"It would be now difficult to show how this popular error originated, as the meanings of the two prefixes O and Mac are so nearly alike. It may, however, have originated in a custom which prevailed among the *ancient* Irish, namely, that, for some reason which we cannot now discover, the O was never prefixed in any surname derived from art, trade, or science, O'Gowan only excepted, the prefix Mac having been always used in such instances, for we never meet O'Saoir, O'Baird; and surnames thus formed, of course, never ranked as high among the Irish as those which were formed from the names of chieftains.

"It may be here also remarked, that the O was never prefixed to names beginning with the word *Giolla*. I see no reason for this either, but I am positive that it is a fact, for throughout the *Annals of the Four Masters* only one O'Giolla, namely, O'Giolla Phadruig, occurs, and that only in one instance, and I have no doubt that this is a mere error of transcription.

"Another strange error prevails in the north of Ireland respecting O and Mac, viz., that every name in the north of Ireland of which Mac forms the first part is of Scotch origin, while those to which the O is prefixed is of Irish origin; for example, that O'Neill and O'Kane are of Irish origin, but Mac Loughlin and Mac Cloiskey of Scotch origin. But it happens in these instances that Mac Loughlin is the senior branch of the family of O'Neill, and Mac Cloiskey a most distinguished offshoot from that of O'Kane. This error had its origin in the fact that the Scotch families very rarely prefixed the O (there being only three instances of their having used it at all on record), while the Irish used O tenfold more than the Mac. This appears from an index to the genealogical books of Lecan, and of Duaid Mac Firbis, in the MS. library of the Royal Irish Academy, in which mention is made of only three Scotch surnames beginning with O, while there are upwards of two thousand distinct Irish surnames beginning with O, and only two hundred beginning with Mac.

"Another strange error is popular among the Irish, and those not of the lowest class, namely, that only five Irish families are entitled to have the O prefixed; but what names these five are is by no means agreed upon, some asserting that they are O'Neill, O'Donnell, O'Conor, O'Brien, and O'Flaherty; others that they are O'Neill, O'Donnell, O'Kane, O'Dowd, and O'Kelly; a third party insisting that they are O'Brien, O'Sullivan, O'Connell, O'Mahony, and O'Driscoll; while others make up the list in a quite different manner from all these, and this according to the part of Ireland in which they are located; and each party is positive that no family but the five of their own list has any title to the O. None of them would acknowledge that even the O'Me-

laghlins, the heads of the southern Hy-Niall race, have any claims to this prefix, nor other very distinguished families, who invariably bore it down to a comparatively late period. On the other hand, it is universally admitted that any Irish family from Mac Carthy and Mac Murrough, down to Mac Gucken and Mac Phauden, has full title to the prefix Mac; and for no other reason than because it is believed to have been a mark of no distinction whatever among the ancient Irish. This error originated in the fact that five families of Irish blood were excepted by the English laws from being held as mere Irishmen.

"This is another error prevalent among the Irish gentry of Milesian blood in Ireland (which is the less to be excused, as they have ample opportunities of correcting it), namely, that the chief or head of the family only was entitled to have the O prefixed to his name. This is the grossest error of all, for there is not a single passage in the authentic annals or genealogical books which even suggests that such a custom ever existed amongst the ancient Irish chieftain families, for it is an indubitable fact that every member of the family had the O prefixed to his surname, as well as the chief himself. But a distinction was made between the chief and the members of his family, in the following manner:— In all official documents the chief used the surname only, as O'Neill, O'Donnell, &c. In conversation also the surname only was used, but the definite article was frequently prefixed, as *the* O'Neill, *the* O'Brien, &c.; while in annals and other historical documents in which it was found necessary to distinguish a chief from his predecessors or successors, the chief of a family was designated by giving him the family name first, and the Christian or baptism name after it in parenthesis. But the different members of the chief's family had their Christian names always prefixed as at the present day.

"I have thus dwelt upon the errors respecting surnames in Ireland, from an anxious wish that they should be removed; and I trust that it will be believed henceforward that the Mac in Irish surnames is fully as respectable as the O; and that instead of five, there are at least two thousand Irish families who have *full title* to have the O prefixed to their surnames."

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